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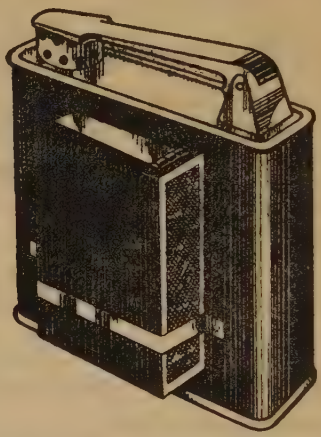

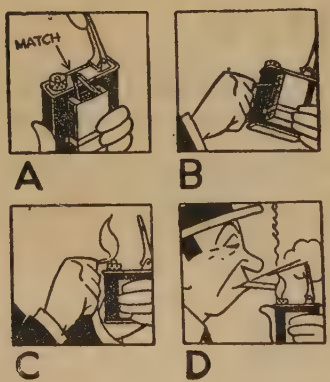

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STUDIES

An Irish Quarterly Review

DECEMBER 1933

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THE PROBLEM OF GOVERNMENT

BY JOHN J. HORGAN

"GOVERNMENT," writes Mr. H. G. Wells in a recent book, "is the obscurest of all the vital problems now challenging mankind." He might have added that it is also the one which is least studied. One of the most remarkable features of modern civilization is the success of industry in producing whatever we need quickly and cheaply and the failure of the political and economic machine to cope with the results. In this era of the motor car, the wireless, and the aeroplane, when time and space have been almost annihilated, we are content to use the political institutions of the days when the sailing ship and the stage coach still reigned supreme on sea and land. If we devoted as much time to the discussion and development of our methods of government as we do to long-distance flights, how much might be gained for mankind. For the one is of vital importance to the race; the other only of value to the small number of wealthy people who can afford rapid travel. Recent developments and discussions in the Free State suggest that our politicians are beginning to wonder whether our Constitution is not capable of improvement. How far these developments arise from a desire to score off their opponents, and how far from a genuine desire to improve our system of government, remains to be seen. And, in referring to improvements in the Constitution, I am not referring to alterations like the removal of the oath of allegiance or the fictitious prerogative of the King, which, whilst they may be useful for distracting the electorate from more serious questions, can have no effect whatever on the fundamental development of our political institutions.

Our Constitution, as amended,[1] provides that after

[1] See Article 50, and the Constitution Amendment No. 16, Act No. 10 of 1929.

sixteen years from the date of its coming into operation, it can only be amended by a Referendum in which either the votes of a majority of the voters on the register or two-thirds of the votes recorded shall have been cast in favour of such amendment. This period of sixteen years, during which the Constitution can be amended by ordinary legislation, will expire in October, 1938. Unless this period is further extended by legislation—and, indeed, whether it is extended or not—it seems desirable that a searching inquiry should be made forthwith, by people who have no political axes to grind, into the working of the Constitution to date, with a view to its improvement. This article is merely an attempt to suggest some directions in which that inquiry may be profitably pursued, and to direct attention to experiments and developments elsewhere.

Our Constitution is in many ways a peculiar document. As a recent shrewd foreign commentator has pointed out,[1] its structural design is that of a limited monarchy, but its tenor is essentially republican. Moreover, whilst its internal structure exhibits the characteristic features of the British system, a multiplicity of novel devices indicate the influence of foreign models. At the same time a consistent effort to modify the fundamental conventions of the British rule reveals an anti-authoritarian tendency alien to its basic inspiration. The fundamental declarations in the Constitution of the Catholic Free State are, in fact, the radically anti-authoritarian postulates of Cromwell's Levellers as translated into practice in France and America. The whole Constitution is, indeed, permeated by an intense democratic radicalism inspired by the new spirit of post-war Europe, utopian and disillusioned. It is also rooted in a distrust of governmental authority—the peculiar heritage of our past. But this attempt to make restriction of authority of more import-

[1] *The Constitution of the Irish Free State*, by Leon Kohn, p. 13. (Allen & Unwin. 1932. 16s.). This is the only really valuable and critical book on the Constitution.

ance than effective government was, in fact, entirely unsuited to the needs of a patriarchal and primitive agricultural country in which for several generations political controversy had been virtually confined to a struggle for agrarian and political freedom. Hence we find that one by one most of the elaborate provisions for limiting the powers of the executive government have been jettisoned or have become inoperative. The corrective powers of the Referendum and Initiative have been removed ;* the extra-parliamentary ministers, who were not subject to the political bond of Cabinet responsibility and were to invest Parliament with a more direct measure of control over the more technical departments of State, were never appointed and have now been abolished ; [1] the vocational councils,[2] which were to represent the social and economic life of the nation, have never been called into existence. Moreover, a far-reaching amendment, embodied in the Public Safety Act of 1931,[3] designed to be of permanent force and involving a complete restriction of constitutional rights, gave the Executive Council the power, by order, without parliamentary sanction, to place the State under martial law not subject in its administration to the control of the judiciary. It is true that this Act helped to accelerate the fall of the Cosgrave Government ; but it is equally true that it was not repealed, and has now been enforced by their successors.

Nor is this all. Article 12 of the Constitution defiantly proclaimed that " the sole and exclusive power of making laws for the peace, order, and good government " of the country was vested in the Oireachtas, so that the British system of legislation by delegation, save in the specially excepted case of subordinate legislatures to be created by the Oireachtas,[4] seemed to have been definitely for-

* The Constitution Amendment (No. 10) Act, No. 8 of 1928.
[1] The Constitution Amendment (No. 15) Act, No. 9 of 1929.
[2] Article 45. [3] Article 2A. [4] Article 14.

bidden. Yet, what do we find ? From the very beginning considerable power was transferred to the Executive. The Local Government Act of 1923 provisionally, and the Local Government Act of 1927 permanently, empowered the Minister for Local Government to dissolve any local authority after an inquiry by his inspector. Under the same Act of 1925 the Minister was given Draconian powers over all the local government officials in the country. These measures were not the result of the abnormal conditions following the civil war, but of a settled policy which has since been consistently followed, and from which it is not unfair to conclude that it represents the natural tendency of our people far better than the democratic platitudes and devices embodied in the Constitution. Nor is this tendency confined to the department of Local Government. The same principle is to be found in the dealings of the legislature with the other Ministers. Take, for instance, the law of licences so peculiar to this age when our activities require constant supervision by the State. Registration of premises under the Agricultural Produce (Eggs) Act, 1924, or the Agricultural Produce (Fresh Meat) Act, 1930, or the Agricultural Produce (Potatoes) Act, or an exporter's licence under the last two Acts, may be cancelled by the Minister for Agriculture if *he* is satisfied that there has been any contravention of the particular act or of any regulation thereunder ; a milling licence under the Agricultural Produce (Cereals) Act, 1933, the loss of which may involve the complete destruction of a business, may be revoked by the Minister for Industry and Commerce on *his* being satisfied that there has been any breach of any condition of the licence. It is true that the Minister has to give notice of his intention to revoke in these several cases : in the case of a milling licence he must even give his reasons, and he may consider any representations made or, if he thinks fit, hold an inquiry. But there is no appeal from his decision. Under the Road

Transport Act, 1932, he has even wider powers, for he may at any time, " on his own motion and at his absolute discretion," revoke an annual passenger licence, on the ground that in *his* opinion the service has not been carried on efficiently with due regard to public requirements, or that in *his* opinion there has been a failure to observe a condition of the licence or the provisions of the Act and regulations ; and under the Road Transport Act, 1933, a licence to carry merchandise on the roads may be revoked by the Minister " on his own motion and at his absolute discretion " upon like grounds. The carrier, whose livelihood may be thus removed, has no protection except the integrity of the Minister. Similar provisions are to be found in several other Acts, such as the Wireless Telegraphy Act, 1926, the Dairy Produce Acts, 1924-27, the Totalisator Act, 1929, and the Betting Act, 1931.[1]

This universal tendency to concentrate power in the hands of the Executive cannot be due to a whim of the parliamentary draftsman or the subtle machinations of our bureaucracy, because it is to be found in every type of legislation, and must therefore reflect the settled policy of the legislature. Nor was it peculiar to the Cosgrave Government, for their successors continue along the same path, and have now even accepted the Appointments' Commission and the City Manager system, which they loudly denounced when in opposition. These two local government developments, which were almost revolutionary in their nature and which destroyed—let us hope for good—the jobbery that disgraced our local authorities, also aimed a shrewd blow at unnecessary and inefficient democratic control. It is now, therefore, obvious that the strange farrago of half-digested liberal theories and devices, which constituted our original Constitution, were in no way suitable to our real necessities and did not reflect our political instincts. They were the result of

[1] An interesting article in the *Irish Law Times* of 2 Sept., 1933, contains full particulars of all these provisions.

political window-dressing rather than considered policy, and now demand revision in the light of experience.

First, we must ask ourselves in what direction do we desire to travel. For those who do not think, the easiest solution of our democratic troubles would seem to be a dictatorship of some strong and intelligent person. This can never be a permanent solution, and may easily be a dangerous one. In 1914 the autocrats of Europe helped materially to precipitate a world disaster not yet liquidated. But to-day the weapons of destruction are far more potent, and the destinies of a people cannot be left in the hands of a dictator who, in order to escape the result of his domestic mistakes, may plunge his country into external adventures. The cry of " the country in danger " is, as we ought to know only too well, too often the exclamation of the fool to cover the results of his folly. Moreover, dictators are mortal, and, when they depart, they generally leave behind them chaos. The example of Spain is a case in point. Mussolinis do not grow on every bush. And, to have a dictatorship, one must first have a dictator. No such person is apparent on our political horizon. But the conclusive argument against such a solution is that free institutions represent a higher form of civilization. They respect the freedom of the citizen ; they are capable of development and growth ; they presuppose and demand the active assent of the governed. If they can secure the service of the best minds in the community, then the right things will be properly done.

Accepting, then, the democratic principle of government in its broad application, three main problems arise : the election of a parliament, the formation of an executive, and, finally, the relations that should exist between the two. The election of a parliament has two aspects : first, the franchise, and, secondly, the method of voting. Both these matters are vital. Is the principle of one man one vote a rational principle ? Is it an essential of

democratic government? In any other department of life do we subordinate knowledge to ignorance, experience to inexperience, responsibility to irresponsibility? Yet this is what adult suffrage means and is in practice, and only the check of the permanent official and the moral law saves us from disaster. Does it not seem desirable to give more weight to knowledge, experience, and responsibility? There are several ways in which this might be done. Since the smallest social unit is the family, the right to vote might be limited to heads of families, as has recently been done in Portugal. Another method would be to increase the number of votes according to the age of the voter, say one vote from twenty-one to thirty, two votes from thirty to forty, and three votes from forty upwards. This method would at least restore control to the responsible element in the nation. The existing system was adopted without regard to our social framework or necessities. Our society is essentially primitive, patriarchal and agricultural; the family is, and let us hope will remain, the keystone of the structure. Adult suffrage, the fruit of an industrial civilization, where the family is fast disintegrating, is totally unsuited to and destructive of our moral and social life. It has led inevitably to policies directed rather to secure votes from the irresponsible elements in the country than to a constructive and sane development for the benefit of all. Adult suffrage is, in the last analysis, incompatible with private property, as the Irish farmer will soon painfully discover. I, therefore, suggest that we should lay the foundations of our new Constitution firmly on a franchise based on responsibility and experience of life.

As regards the method of voting, the Proportional Representation system, which we already possess, has worked well in practice. It has secured representation for minorities, ensured the return of political leaders in all parties (although this, under existing conditions, was not

perhaps an unmixed blessing), and has enabled the people to upset political manoeuvres like the electoral pact of 1922. In Great Britain an election is still a gamble. In the Free State the composition of the Dáil has a sure and certain relation to the strength of opinion as expressed at the polls. There can be no doubt that the method of voting influences profoundly the course of history. For example, when Mr. Gladstone in 1886 first submitted the question of Home Rule to the electors, he actually received a small majority of votes, but the electoral system placed him in a minority of 104 in the House of Commons. This false system of representation thus influenced the whole subsequent history of the two countries. Other great decisions in the English House of Commons have been determined in a similar way, not by the actual votes of the people but by a distorted representation produced by the existing electoral system, with its violent swing of the pendulum from one party to another. It is theoretically possible, under the existing English system, for a little over one-third of the voters to elect the whole House of Commons. Under Proportional Representation this is impossible, and it therefore does not appeal to the violent partisan, who places the overwhelming victory of his party before the interests of his country.

We have heard a great deal lately about vocational representation. This system has been tried in Italy and Germany. It means that representation is based on occupation or, rather, on occupational corporations as organised by the State. There are corporations of employers, corporations of workers in agriculture, industry, commerce, the professions, and so on. The candidates for the National Parliament are then chosen by the national councils of the various Corporations, but in Italy these candidates have to be approved by the Fascist Grand Council, who can alter the list as it sees fit. The electors then vote " Yes " or " No " on the list submitted to them. In the election of 1929 8,500,000 electors voted

"Yes," and 136,000 "No." Truly a remarkable result. The whole thing is, of course, only a camouflaged party dictatorship and does not pretend to be anything else. A scheme for a vocational parliament was also embodied in the German Constitution, not as a second chamber whose consent was essential for the passing of economic legislation, but merely as a consulting body whose reports had to be asked for, but whose findings were in no way binding. It has done a great deal of work, but not half as well as Royal Commissions in England or as many parliamentary or congressional committees in England and the United States.[1] It has not brought about any important changes in evolving schemes or methods of dealing with social and economic problems. It has merely duplicated the influence of powerful interests in giving them a second platform. It has not solved the problem of minorities or of vocational representation.

In Austria Herr Dollfuss, as a way out of his difficulties, has decided to create a Corporative State. Whether this proposal merely conceals some form of party control on Fascist lines, or whether it will embody new constructive proposals, remain to be seen. Herr Ender,[2] the Minister without portfolio commissioned to formulate plans for the reform, has stated that a Corporative Assembly in which the representation of professional interests would be gained by personal merit can easily be constituted from existing guilds and public bodies. The difficulties will begin when the Government and its collaborators undertake a numerical distribution of seats between the various groups and fix the electoral procedure to be followed within these. In Herr Ender's conception there would still be a popular assembly, rather humorously described as the party-politicians' preserve, but he has been scrupulously indefinite about the manner of its election and the extent of its residual powers.

[1] See *The Crisis of European Democracy* by Moritz J. Bonn, 1925.

[2] *The Times*, October 2nd, 1933.

These examples show the difficulties in the way of vocational representation. How are candidates to be nominated? How many members are to be allotted to each industry? Can anybody settle the true relation of importance between tailors and carpenters? Will the electorate be able to express any choice among the candidates when nominated? Is a majority in an industry to control the representation allotted to the industry? But, apart from these difficult questions, is any great advantage to be secured by making occupation the basis of the legislature? Will it not only introduce a narrower and more selfish view of affairs into its deliberations? If it is founded on free institutions, does it really help to solve any problem of democratic government? One must only conclude that citizenship is a better and broader basis for public representation than occupation.

The far more serious question, however, is the organisation of government after an election: the relations between the legislature and the executive. The problem in a free country is to co-ordinate, as far as possible, the differences existing within the nation. This is proved by the fact that during times of national crisis most countries form a national government. This took place in Belgium, France, and England during the war. Financial and economic crises have recently produced similar results in Great Britain and South Africa. In the country which is the most democratic country in Europe, Switzerland, there is a permanent national government. Switzerland is like the Free State in many respects. The English system of party government, one party succeeding another in the control of the executive—which we have blindly copied—has worked fairly well in England, but it has often broken down, is now out of date, and only continues to exist through the Englishman's indifference to political forms and his genius for compromise. The Swiss system is quite different. There are no recurring political crises in Switzerland. Its politicians are never

heard of outside their native land. Unlike Mr. Gandhi, Herr Hitler, and Mr. de Valera, they have no news value. To us, in a country where personalities in politics unfortunately count for more than policies, this may seem very strange. How are these results achieved ?

There is not in Switzerland a de Valera government or a Cosgrave government ; there is only the Swiss National Government. It is elected by, and acts as, a Committee of the Federal Assembly or Parliament. The Assembly consists of two Houses designed to represent, the one the nation, the other the sections—different in speech, religion and race—which make up that nation. Each member of the Government must be acceptable to the whole Assembly and must be willing to work with the other members. But this Government is so constituted that it includes representatives of the German, French, and Italian speaking Swiss ; it includes Protestants and Catholics ; it includes representatives of two or three political parties. Each member must belong to a separate canton. (Here the same result could be obtained if the two Houses elected the Government under a system of Proportional Representation.) It is elected for four years. From its members the Federal Assembly elects a Chairman and Vice-Chairman, who hold office for one year. The Chairman is also the President of the Swiss Confederation ; but, though first in dignity, he has no more power or responsibility than any of his colleagues. He is usually succeeded by the Vice-Chairman. This year a German-speaking Swiss has succeeded an Italian-speaking Swiss. It is as if an Orangeman from Portadown had succeeded a Catholic Irish-speaker from Dingle. The highest post can pass in turn to each member of the Government, all of whom are men of experience in public affairs. Every citizen who has a vote for the National Council is eligible to become a member of the executive. The members of the Government are however usually re-elected, and so they obtain experience

but not notoriety. There is a tradition that the three large Cantons—Zurich, Berne, Vaud—shall always have one representative each. But no canton has more than one member. When a vacancy occurs, the question arises : has the party to whom the seat should nominally fall got a man of sufficient ability for ministerial office ? If so, that party is usually permitted to fill the position. The Government at present consists of four Radicals, two Conservatives and one member of the Peasants Party. The Government gives a lead to Parliament, which is usually followed. But it is the servant of Parliament. It does not resign if Parliament disagrees with its proposals. It accepts the decision of Parliament, of which it is only the executive committee.

Think of what this means. The good of the country, and not the overthrow of the Government, becomes the dominant purpose of Parliament ; its members can vote more freely on public issues ; a small party cannot hold the balance of power and force the Government to purchase its support by legislative bribery. The advantages of the Swiss executive system are, indeed, obvious, and it would be peculiarly suitable to Ireland, for our problems are much the same. Such a Government, and only such a Government, could make a complete and conclusive settlement with England. We have heard a great deal lately about the unity of Ireland, which should, indeed, be the principal aim of our national policy. But who ever stops to ask why it is at present impossible ? Is not the fundamental obstacle the fear of our fellow-countrymen in the North that they would not receive fair treatment in an Irish state ; that the principles and beliefs which they cherish would not be tolerated by us ? The same difficulties exactly existed in Switzerland. The Catholic and Protestant cantons of Switzerland actually fought a religious war during the nineteenth century ; they erected tariff walls against each other ; they were constantly quarrelling. Since the present Constitution was adopted

in 1874, there has been peace and consolidation. The Swiss Government is now the most stable in the world. Moreover, its federal system preserves the largest measure of local home rule for each canton, and yet makes possible common action in respect of common problems. A united Ireland is only possible on a similar basis.

The new Portuguese Constitution is also worth studying. Adopted by a large majority on a plebiscite last March, it is to be regarded as the political Credo of the virtual dictator of the country, Dr. Antonio Salazar, who abandoned his chair of economics at Coimbra University to assume the portfolio of Finance in 1927 and the premiership in 1932. Dr. Salazar is apparently a remarkable personality. He disdains all forms of publicity and popular appeal. He has balanced Portugal's budget, stabilised her currency, and restored her credit at home and abroad. His political theories have attracted less attention, although they are of more than local interest in an age when half the world is suffering a reaction from democratic forms of government, while the other half is struggling to extricate itself from the toils of dictatorship. He makes no pretence of democratic principles.[1] In the modern state, which he desires to create, the individual is subordinated to the collective whole. Since the smallest social unit is the family, only heads of families are entitled to the suffrage under the new Constitution. The larger public bodies nominate half the members of the Chamber, which has no power to veto the decisions of the Cabinet. This is, of course, the reverse of the Swiss system. The Cabinet itself is nominated by the President of the Republic, on whom its tenure of office, individual or collective, exclusively depends. In other words, the President is really a dictator. Dr. Salazar declares that the proletariat must not imagine that they are in any way a privileged section of society. They are entitled only to the same rights as every other section of the

[1] *Salazar*, by Antonio Ferro. Lisbon, 1933.

nation—no more and no less. Whilst he aims at wide measures of social amelioration, he has no intention of seeking popular support by promises of impossible reforms. Communism, in his view, is, of all political systems, that which has been proved longest unworkable. Socialism, involving the nationalisation of industry and robbing private enterprise of its due reward, is bound to be economically inefficient. Capitalism, though it needs to be controlled, is essential to material progress. Gradual reform, rather than violent upheaval, is what he believes the world needs to-day. Like Signor Mussolini, he considers that democracy has had its chance and has failed to make good. He stands, however, not for an unlimited despotism, but for a benevolent oligarchy.

What, then, are the conclusions which emerge from these rather random reflections on the problem of government as it concerns us ? It is clear that our Constitution requires to be completely revised, if not re-drafted, in the light of its obvious defects and twelve years' experience of its working. In that revision it would seem that more attention should be paid to the realities of our national life than to abstract principles derived from entirely different forms of civilization and culture. As I see it, we need above all a franchise based on responsibility and an executive divorced from the party system. We must do for the national government what the City Manager system and the Local Appointments' Commission have done for local government ; we must apply methods of efficiency and common-sense to political problems. It is only through such a change that we can obtain a government taking the long view, eliminating personal animosities, placing the interests of the nation before the interests of party, and, perhaps, even maintaining peaceful relations with our nearest neighbour.

John J. Horgan

Comments on the Foregoing Article

No. 1.—By William T. Cosgrave, T.D.
President of the Executive Council, 1922-1932

Mr. Horgan's able and stimulating survey of the Constitution merits careful and impartial consideration, even if it is impossible, in a short commentary, to deal with more than a few of the ideas it suggests. Whether it is possible in present circumstances to secure such a painstaking examination as is suggested is a matter which need not prevent an earnest endeavour to focus public attention in the Saorstát on the need for selecting the most efficient and satisfactory form of government. In a few very pertinent questions, in the course of the article, problems are indicated which must be faced and solved by all seekers after governmental reform.

"Is the principle of one man one vote a rational principle?" asks Mr. Horgan. "Is it an essential of democratic Government? In any other department of life do we subordinate knowledge to ignorance, experience to inexperience, responsibility to irresponsibility?" The answers to these questions cannot be limited to the electors alone. There are various precautions taken by Statute to maintain satisfactory and efficient standards of service in law, medicine, dentistry, engineering, and the other professions—and in the public service both central and local. Various important public and semi-public bodies or institutions have been established in order to protect the general public and to provide it with qualified and skilled practitioners in the fields of engineering, architecture and other pursuits. There are special courses—involving elaborate preparation—for those who desire to practise medicine, engineering or law. There are Trade Unions for workers. In most professions a standard of fitness and proficiency is required before a student is allowed to proffer his services to the public. Upon his subsequent proficiency and suitability depends to a large measure the success which he will attain. Serious departure from established etiquette or failure to maintain the recognised standard of skill will incur forfeiture of professional status or membership of the organisation to which the individual belongs.

In the field of political administration there is, however, no such ordered provision to ensure a due standard of service to the public or to guard the reputation of the more able or conscientious entrant into public life. This is unfortunate and has as a result that politicians as a class—unlike professional men as a class—are judged and respected not according to the standard set by the

ablest and most statesmanlike amongst them but according to that laid down by the avaricious or self-seeking.

The Constitution enacted is of real importance. But the Constitution is rather the plant or machinery of the factory; and however up-to-date, suitable and efficient the machinery, the success of its working depends on the skill and adaptability of the operatives. The machine may be damaged, may not work at full power, or may be put out of use by want of skill or ability on the part of the operatives. Their capacity then is the acid test. Can steps be taken to secure that persons standing for election are equal to the responsibilities and duties of taking charge of the machinery of State? As the law stands, there are a few disqualifications which operate against legal nominations for election. But a man may be legally qualified to seek public support as a popular representative without being really suitably qualified at all. Would it not be better to face the problem of determining the quality and suitability of the representatives rather than that of altering equal and universal suffrage?

Mr. Horgan stresses the importance of the unity of Ireland. On the successful solution of the problem of government in the Saorstát to a large extent depends ultimate political unity. Mr. Horgan makes an able argument for a detailed examination and revision of the Constitution—a much easier task than was the original framing. That difficult work was carefully, conscientiously and most ably carried out, both by the Constitution Committee and the Provisional Government and Parliament. In connection with the revision proposed, the United States and Great Britain furnish remarkable examples of the difference between political realities and constitutional forms. Great Britain has very much the appearance and reality of a republican monarchy, while the United States approaches closely to a monarchical republic. The truth of this is startlingly illustrated by the presidential career of the present President Roosevelt. Parliament is much more powerful in Great Britain than the House of Representatives and the Senate in America. The Executive is responsible to Parliament in Great Britain, although it is described as "His Majesty's Government." The Executive has no direct responsibility to Parliament in the United States. Both systems work, but they have the advantage of having behind them constitutional usage and practice over a lengthy period. Neither country affords a fair parallel with Ireland. In this respect it must not be assumed that the Swiss system was either unknown or unconsidered in 1922. Nor were the decisions reached by the Constitution

Committee of that time or by the Provisional Government the result of political window-dressing. Every effort was made by Arthur Griffith and Michael Collins to get the best non-political advice available. In fact the framers of the Constitution anticipated Mr. Horgan's view that provision should be made for the unity of Ireland somewhat on the Swiss model. And of course there are similar provisions within the British Commonwealth. The Committee was not blind to the other attractive features of the Swiss Constitution. But it was felt that in a country like ours, new to the responsibility of government, their adoption would unduly interfere with the achievement of a tradition of political stability.

There is, perhaps, in the article a suggestion that most of our troubles in the political sphere spring from faults in our institutions, and that they can in large measure be overcome by the removal of these faults. I do not deny that much may be achieved in this way, and the suggestions made—such as the recognition of the increased responsibility that attaches to the head of a family and that generally comes with age—merit careful consideration. But more important even than any advantages that may come from such reforms, I rank the gradual education of the people by experience of political life and by the inculcation of proper standards of political conduct by all those in a position of influence. Unless progress can be made along those lines, I fear that the wished-for benefits will not flow from the reforms.

Another thing. Would it not be well if effective steps were taken to see that even the institutions we have should work as by the Constitution they were intended to work? The desirability and necessity of such steps have become obvious, and their feasibility is beyond question. The State should take proper care to see that the Register of Voters is both exhaustive and clean, that it contains all the names of those constitutionally entitled to vote and those only. It should further be possible to put a stop to the growing evasion of the rights of the people by the evil of personation.

Let us by all means endeavour, as Mr. Horgan suggests, to amend our Constitution in the light of our own experience and the experience of other peoples similarly situated. But in the end it is the genius and capacity of our citizens for self-government which will determine the spirit and the reality of our Constitution—however it may be worded. The development of those qualities will be more potent for good than any remodelling or even renaming of our governmental institutions.

William T. Cosgrave

No. 2.—By Senator James G. Douglas

Member of the Constitution Committee, 1922

Mr. Horgan has performed a useful service by drawing attention to the need for the development of our political institutions on lines suitable to this country. Improvement in our methods of government can only be achieved after careful study and discussion. Very wisely, he emphasises the importance of the subject in relation to the Unity of Ireland, which is placed in the forefront of the political programme of every party in the Saorstat. The leaders of Fianna Fáil and Fine Gael agree that the six counties must not be coerced; they unite in expressing the belief that the North can be won by good government in the twenty-six counties. Yet very little effort is being made to devise a form of government which would provide stability, create confidence instead of mistrust, and prove to our fellow countrymen in the six counties that it would be in their interest to throw in their lot with the rest of Ireland.

Mr. Horgan would like to see a national non-party Executive Council, not only to deal with a time of crisis, but as a permanent institution of our State. In principle I agree with him, though I do not think such an executive would be able to function if it contained ministers so far apart in their general outlook as that of the present day "Orangeman from Portadown" and "Catholic Irish-speaker from Dingle." I do not believe, however, that an "executive divorced from the party system" could be created by simply revising the Constitution. It would require a complete change in the outlook of our political leaders and in the people generally who support them.

In 1922 I had great faith in the possibilities of a well drafted Constitution. Now I believe that most forms of Constitution can be good or bad according to the people who work them and that the actual wording of the articles is only of secondary importance. The Swiss Constitution was carefully examined by the Saorstat Constitution Committee. The majority did not favour it; but one of the three drafts sent to the Provisional Government included certain articles which were largely inspired by the Swiss model. These articles had the support of the late Michael Collins; but, when the draft was submitted to the Dail, they met with much opposition. In the Constitution as finally passed articles were included which, in addition to a small Executive Council collectively responsible to the Dail, provided for a number of other Ministers chosen for their knowledge or experience of the various departments of government. The

relation of these Ministers to the Dail would have been very much that of Ministers in the Swiss Executive. This plan, however, was never tried. A few "extern" Ministers, who were not members of the Executive Council, were appointed; but they soon found themselves in an absurd position in relation to the majority of their colleagues, all of whom belonged to the same party.

When the first Executive Council was appointed under the Constitution, party feeling was at its height; a large number of elected deputies not only had refused to take their seats, but were in armed opposition to the Government. Under these circumstances it would probably have been impossible to have formed a non-party government. But in my opinion the failure to try out the scheme was very largely due to the fact that it did not appeal to the majority of the people, who knew no governmental system but the British. However much we may have disliked successive British Governments, we have a deep-seated belief in the efficacy of British institutions and an almost equally deep-seated suspicion of foreign innovations.

Since then, as Mr. Horgan points out, political development in the Saorstat has been calculated to strengthen the party system of government; and, I believe, a revision of the Constitution at the present time would probably result in changes which would still further increase the power of the larger parties in the State. An American friend of mine tells me that Irishmen know how to run a party machine better than any other people in the world and that we would not be happy without party government. Whether this be true or not, I have no hope whatever that we shall see an "executive divorced from the party system" in the near future.

This is no reason why the whole problem of government should not be considered and discussed. In many countries the party system has proved inadequate to meet the situation created by world-wide depression and, as likely as not, it will fail here. It may be that economic circumstances and the need for a satisfactory settlement with Great Britain and with the North will eventually lead to the creation of a national government, which could be done within the present Constitution if the people demanded it. In the meantime I do not believe that any good purpose would be served by a general revision of the Constitution in advance of public opinion, especially as such revision would be controlled by the party which happened to be in power.

Space does not permit me to refer in detail to the many other

interesting points raised by Mr. Horgan. I am in complete agreement with his view that free institutions are far superior to any form of dictatorship. His proposals for a franchise based on age and responsibility are interesting; but I doubt if they would result in any very marked change in election results. Age may add to a sense of responsibility; but older men and women usually lack the enthusiasm and courage which are very necessary to progress. I do not think any party is likely to adopt proposals of this kind, and it would be more within the realm of practical politics to improve our present franchise by taking drastic steps to prevent impersonation and by making voting compulsory at general elections.

I agree that Proportional Representation, in spite of its admitted drawbacks, has on the whole worked well, and I consider it would be a grave mistake to return to the British system of election. Here we have an instance of one of the vices of the party system. I strongly disagree with the external policy of Fianna Fáil, but agree with their attitude to Proportional Representation. Either I must support Fine Gael, who propose to abolish the latter, or I must support Fianna Fáil and their Labour allies, whose external policy will, I believe, prove disastrous to the future of this country and will perpetuate partition.

Many changes in the political outlook of our people would be necessary before many of Mr. Horgan's dreams could become realities; but a great deal could be done by men and women of good will to gradually create a better spirit in public affairs under our present system; personal animosities and misrepresentation of opponents could be eliminated and the good of the nation as a whole placed before the interests of party. The time may not be far distant when the country will give the greatest honour to those of our leaders who show themselves willing to sacrifice personal and party ambitions to the common good.

JAMES G. DOUGLAS

No. 3.—By Professor Michael Tierney, M.A.

Hon. Secretary of the United Ireland Party

EVERYONE familiar with the working of our Constitution will agree with Mr. Horgan that it has proved unsatisfactory in many details, if not in its whole spirit. No written Constitution can ever be entirely satisfactory, but ours erred in being both too all-embracing and too doctrinaire. Its framers, in trying to avoid the forms of English constitutional monarchy, made Parliament supreme to a degree almost unknown in similarly constituted

States. As Mr. Horgan shows, experience has constantly dictated infringements in practice of this extreme Parliamentarism. This process has a defect which, in my opinion, is very dangerous in a country like Ireland. It has piled a further series of constitutional fictions on top of those we legitimately inherited from the Mother of Parliaments. The Irish temperament is uncongenial to constitutional fictions. It tends either to treat them as facts—witness the case of the oath of allegiance—or to hold them in such contempt that all authority is endangered. Now Ireland always has been and still is a country of great personalities. In my belief our Constitution should build upon that trait in our national character rather than neglect it. In practice our sovran Parliament, elected on proportional representation principles, has come to be a battle-ground for personalities which have risen triumphant above all constitutional restraints.

I cannot bring myself to attach much importance to the defects of manhood suffrage. Personally I should prefer twenty-five as the minimum age for voters, because at that age most citizens are likely to have begun to earn their living, if they are ever to earn it. But I cannot see that people over thirty are in the least wiser than people under it. I have met quite as many political striplings aged fifty as aged twenty-five. If we want a more conservative electorate—and personally I don't think I do—we must base it either on a property qualification or on parenthood or on some other principle which has some chance of being related to responsibility. Age has little or no such relation. The chief difficulty, apart from its incapacity to do what is expected of it, that I see in Mr. Horgan's suggested plurality of votes is that it will add greatly to the risks of error and fraud in a system of registration at present defective enough.

This is a point on which Mr. Horgan has not touched, though to me it is nearly as important as any he does touch. We have in the Free State a system of proportional representation whose excuse is that under it the votes are distributed with mathematical accuracy. Yet the system on which registers are compiled, and all the mechanics of voting, are about as primitive as can be conceived. We leave the register to the tender mercies of our political parties, we have no impartial or judicial scrutiny of its accuracy, and we surround the act of voting with all kinds of propagandist licence or even with physical violence. Surely, before we begin to distribute our votes mathematically, we should see that both the source of the vote and its casting are also made as accurate as possible? Personally I have not now and never

have had any use at all for proportional representation. I regard it as one of the most repulsive products of the Rotary Club mind. It is at best a mathematical extravaganza, as remote from real life as mathematical complexities usually are. Its bases are the silly notions that political parties are fixed and stable entities like religions, and that every kind of cranky or insignificant minority has a right to interfere with the work of government. Its exponents usually point to the defects of the British system, as if no reform of that system were possible short of itself. It is easy to obviate the dangers of three-cornered contests in single-member constituencies; and I am convinced that small single-member constituencies, in which personality can make itself felt, are far more suitable to Ireland than the geometrical multi-membered areas beloved of our modern Sieyès. Proportional Representation has not suppressed party divisions, as was expected of it. All it has done is to make the ordinary healthy functioning of party government more cumbersome, and thereby to make political contests more bitter, more expensive, and more futile.

With such a view of proportional representation, I cannot be expected to admire Mr. Horgan's plan for its use in selecting an Executive Council. So far from producing a unified Government this plan would, in my opinion, produce chaos. Those who wish to abolish party strife in Ireland are very like the sort of pacifist who thinks war can be ended by reducing armaments. The real root of our present party strife is in the clash of personalities. As long as we have intense and strong-minded public characters—which will be as long as Ireland lasts—we are certain to have party divisions, and they will either dominate every system or smash it and the country with it. What we need is a Constitution based on realities. Our national temperament demands a method of election in which parties and personalities will be given full scope, instead of one in which futile checks create confusion as to where responsibility really lies. Parliament should be divested of executive functions, and of all control over the Executive Council except such as it will possess in the duty of electing a President. The President should be given power to choose as his Ministers the best citizens he can find, irrespective of Parliament. I believe even that many of the legislative functions of Parliament might more usefully be assigned to vocational corporations under judicial guidance. Parliament is the father of red-tape, the shield of anonymous bureaucracy; and bureaucracy, which Mr. Horgan does not mention, is one of the curses foisted upon us by our Constitution. The principle of personal responsi-

bility, carrying with it both adequate rewards for good work and ultimate subjection to the decrees of public opinion, is the only healthy principle for governing Ireland. No checks or safeguards can give us better results than the capacity of our people will warrant. Mr. Horgan's proposed reforms really amount to an intensification of the disabilities from which we already suffer.

One word in conclusion on the unity of Ireland. Mr. Horgan repeats the frequently-asserted doctrine that the fundamental obstacle to unity is the fear of our fellow-countrymen in the North that they would not receive fair treatment in an Irish State. I would assert that the first obstacle is, on the contrary, the will of the British Government to perpetuate a system created by British party hostility to Irish self-government. The second obstacle is the failure of our own people to unite on a reasoned and intelligent policy for ending partition. If this second obstacle could be removed, if the whole Nationalist population of Ireland could be brought to agree on one policy, I believe that the first obstacle is not by any means insurmountable. MICHAEL TIERNEY

No. 4.—By Senator Michael Comyn, K.C.

SPECULATION as to forms of government seems to have a peculiar fascination for many minds. It gives to its votaries a gratifying illusion that their ideas and discussions determine the lives of their fellow men. The Abbé Sieyès, one of the most profound of constitution-makers, could have told all political speculators that the form of government in every country is determined by force, and is supported partly by force and partly by the respect and affection which wise government inspires. Sieyès had one constitution ready for the Republic and another constitution for the Directory. Napoleon was to have his power limited by the most ingenious constitutional devices ; but when the draft constitution was submitted to him, he retained every article which conferred power, and deleted those which limited his authority—using the characteristic phrase : " A man must have little honour or intellect who would consent to be a pig put in a sty to fatten on so many millions a year."

Any constitution suitable to a people grows out of their history, their annals, and I might almost say their myths—which, perhaps, approximate as nearly to the truth as many of those works which purport to give an account of the origins of the Great War. In this country and amongst all northern peoples the government which endures is that which rests on the will of free men. The majority of voices prevails ; and when we peer,

as far as we can, into our origins, we find that the majority of voices is nothing more than a method of ascertaining the preponderance of force.

In our early history all men were not free. Freeholders elected the chief, and the chief represented them in the Great Council. It was only in the course of ages that the descendants of those who were unfree acquired political power, and they acquired that power only in proportion as they acquired strength in the nation. This is a characteristic in the history of all nations of Northern and North Western Europe. The vast increase in the franchise following the Great War was the direct result of putting rifles into the hands of every able-bodied man.

For northern nations and for the Greeks also, who were a northern people, democracy was the natural form of government. In each community the chief was either elected or he forced his way to leadership ; and then the leaders, assembled in a Great Council, elected or submitted to a high chief or king ; but in no case had the king absolute power. He was always checked, sometimes superseded, and occasionally destroyed by the Great Council or by some of its members.

When those facts are considered, it becomes obvious to any prudent mind that amongst our people, or any kindred races, a government depending on vocational representation is impossible. Each separate community must be represented as a community. There could be no permanency for any government which rested on the representatives of separate vocational classes of the people. Its first effect would be to set class against class and trade against trade in every parish in the land.

Neither could a dictatorship endure. It would rest only on a small and highly organized force, and there is in our people and in all northern races a deep sense of personal freedom. The authority of a Dictator would depend on the force of those who supported him, and this would give rise amongst the people—in whom the greater, though unorganized, force would rest—to a sense of oppression and a disposition of resistance. When that stage was reached, the dictatorship was doomed.

It is to the interest of a people that governments should be secure and that the policy of a nation should be more or less continuous. This will never be achieved by constitutional experiments that have no root in the history or the national experience of a people. Changing constitutions is like removing foundation stones from a house : the older the house, the more dangerous is the experiment.

MICHAEL COMYN

A VERY HUMAN SAINT

Saint Bernadette of Lourdes*

BY HERBERT THUSTON, S.J.

"SHE gave me," said Bernadette's little brother, "the soundest box on the ears I ever had in my life." The offence which occasioned this castigation was a matter which Bernadette took greatly to heart. It was perhaps connected with one of her "three secrets," and it is clear that she felt righteously indignant. Jean Marie, having been asked by a party of visitors to show them the way to the grotto, came home in proud possession of a couple of francs. It is not quite certain whether it was his acceptance of the money, or his reluctance to go back and return it, which caused the outburst; but his sister thought the occasion called for an impressive lesson and she acted accordingly. Long afterwards the incident was more than once laid stress upon by the Promoter of the Faith in the process of beatification. It showed, he contended, along with other similar *vivacités*, that Bernadette's virtue was not of that heroic order which is expected in a Saint. She yielded too readily to her natural impulses, and all through life there were occasions when her self-control was apt to break down. She was depressed, she shed tears, she lost consciousness when the news was brought her of her mother's death; she fainted also, it was said, when she bade good-bye to her family on leaving Lourdes—though this last allegation seems to be a mistake attributable to that

* Apart from the depositions printed in the Process of Beatification, the most authoritative work on St. Bernadette's history is that of Père L. J. M. Cros, S.J., *Histoire de Notre-Dame de Lourdes*, 3 vols. (Beauchesne, 1925-26). Upon this is mainly founded the sketch by Fr. L. McReavy, *Bernadette, Child of Mary* (Ouseley, 1933).

well-meaning but very imaginative chronicler, M. Estrade —she sometimes made rather sharp retorts, and she did not always preserve proper respect for religious persons and usages which had a sacred character. It was, for example, made a matter of complaint in the same "Animadversiones" of the Promotor Fidei that, in using the words "*Je ne veux de ce tunnel,*" she had commented irreverently upon the coiffure of another religious order which had been duly approved by ecclesiastical authority. With all this it was fully recognised that Sister Marie Bernarde, to use the name she bore as a nun, was at nearly all times a sensitive invalid with nerves on edge; also that she was very ready to own her faults and make generous reparation. But the objection remained that heroic virtue, such as is required for canonization, ought to rise superior to moods and surroundings, maintaining a perfect equanimity which is never off its guard.

With reference to the vigorous slap which had impressed itself upon her brother's memory, I doubt if Bernadette's conscience ever troubled her much. She must at an early stage have realised the supreme need, as well as the great difficulty, of keeping all mercenary influences at a distance. It was she, this child who looked no more than twelve years old, it was she and she alone who could supply the force of character which was needed. Her father and her mother were by nature shiftless people; both of them were weak of will. We now know that, less than a year before the apparitions began at the grotto, her father had spent a week in prison for some petty theft, and that her mother had the reputation of being given to drink. Even her own relatives admitted that this was no calumny.[1] It is true that François Soubirous and his wife preserved self-respect and did not beg, but they were miserably poor; and when money in abundance was spontaneously proffered, who can doubt that the temptation would soon have proved irresistible? Berna-

[1] For all this see Cros, *Histoire, etc.*, Vol. I, pp. 44-50.

dette's visions of Our Lady, however, had inspired the whole family with a certain feeling of awe, and they feared to offend against her code. André Sajoux, a cousin of her mother's, speaking of the time when the child still lived with her parents, told Father Cros :—

> If Bernadette had not forbidden us to accept presents, I might have been one of the richest men in Lourdes. People would have given me a great deal. On one occasion a party of gentlemen from Pau offered me a handful of gold. There were three of them, and they came to our house at two o'clock in the morning. Bernadette was asleep. They brought with them a big girl who had been a long time ill. They wanted Bernadette to kiss her and to lay her hands on her breast. Bernadette, worn out by such appeals, told them : "*N'oum cargui pas de gari, laba lo d'ab aïgo de la groto.*" (It is not my business to cure people ; wash her with the water of the grotto). When they left, I escorted them to the door, and it was there that they offered me so much money ; but I took nothing.[1]

It is pretty clear that Sajoux himself would have seen no harm in accepting a present. Only respect for Bernadette's wishes stood in the way. Such a description, and one might quote many others, throws a good deal of light upon the peculiar form of trial to which she was exposed. As a sensitive and tender-hearted child she was at first almost defenceless. They took her medals from her to lay them on sick people ; they brought rosaries and pious objects for her to touch ; they tried to snip off a lock of her hair or cut pieces from her clothes as relics ; they pestered her with endless questions about what she had seen and heard during the apparitions ; they laid traps to surprise her into some disclosure of her secrets ; they not only extorted promises that she would pray for them and their intentions, but strangers and even priests sometimes persisted in falling on their knees and asking her to bless them. There was no element of conceit in her nature. The criticisms urged in the

[1] Cros, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 50, note.

process of beatification do not suggest that she ever sought to attract notice or gave herself airs. So far as she was self-conscious at all, she seems to have suffered from an inferiority complex. Consequently, knowing her own dulness and ignorance, her youth, her lack of capacity even to meditate, her many failings to maintain that high standard of patience, etc., which she set before herself as the ideal, this atmosphere of spiritual adulation only struck her as something insufferably stupid. We have endless testimonies which assure us that as a rule her manner with strangers was perfect. She was modest, unassuming, and courteous even to the most importunate, but she sometimes expressed herself rather vigorously when she had the relief of speaking her mind to some understanding person who would not be shocked. The Promotor Fidei seems to have considered that she showed temper when she protested concerning the streams of visitors who came to see her with their rosaries and their pictures: "How stupid they are. Why don't they go to the grotto if they want to get their things touched? Why can't they leave me in peace?" But surely such an occasional outburst, addressed, not to her tormentors, but to some nun who was in her confidence, is to be regarded more as a revelation of self-contempt than as evidence of an undisciplined spirit. She revolted at the homage paid to her, and she wearied of the effort she had to make to prevent her conviction of the silliness of those who treated her as a source of holiness from expressing itself outwardly.

If it should seem to anyone that Bernadette's behaviour, when an invalid was brought to her in the middle of the night, was a little unfeeling, we have to remember how difficult was the position in which she was placed. Already in March, 1858, before the apparitions had come to an end, Bernadette had stopped to embrace a poor blind girl whose piteous expression had moved her compassion. The girl, quite erroneously, seems to have believed herself

cured, but the consequence of this and other rumoured miracles was that Bernadette was sent for again and severely cautioned by the Procureur Impérial. Though a good Catholic and an honourable man, M. Dutour persuaded himself that this child, whose parents bore so indifferent a reputation, was only telling falsehoods when she disclaimed any attempt to heal the sick, and he reported in that sense to the departmental authorities at Pau.[1] This episode and other imaginary marvels created a great deal of talk. The believers, who formed the vast majority of the townsfolk, became only the more importunate in their attempts to induce Bernadette to lay hands upon them or at least to touch their rosaries and pictures. The critics, not less inevitably, declared that she was bent on pushing herself into prominence as a miracle-worker. It appears that at first the poor girl did not always feel able to refuse to do so simple a thing as to touch the pious objects which people imploringly thrust into her hands. But on taking the advice of her confessor, he bade her be deaf to such appeals ; and in future, when asked to do anything of the sort, she replied firmly : " I am not allowed to do that."

I do not know any description of Bernadette in those early days which is more curious, and in some respects more interesting, than an account preserved in the diary of an English non-Catholic lady,[2] who in company with her sister stayed a few days at Lourdes in April, 1859, after spending the winter at Pau. They found that the happenings at the grotto, now just a year old, were still the one absorbing topic of conversation. Under date April 19 the diary records the visit they paid to " the poor little victim of this real or fancied apparition," and purports to set down the story " as we had it from

[1] Père Cros prints his report entire. See *Histoire, etc.*, Vol. II, pp. 31-32, with the footnotes.

[2] I have quoted the whole in *The Month* for June, 1924. Only the name R. S. Standen is given, and one cannot even be quite sure of the sex of the writer.

her lips." There is no reason to copy the whole, because it is clear that, while preserving the more substantial outlines, the account includes many serious errors of detail. Probably the writer's memory of what they heard was not very exact, or else it may be that Bernadette's patois was not always perfectly understood. We are told, however, of the expedition of the children to collect wood, of "the strange breezy murmur of the air" which first drew attention to something unwonted, and of the "apparition of a beautiful lady, dressed in a robe of white muslin with a blue sash and a white veil, beckoning to her from a hole in the cliff above a small cavern." Further, there is a statement that the apparition said that she was "the Blessed Virgin of Immaculate Conception" (*sic*), and told the child "to wash in and drink of the water which trickled through the rock and she should have eternal life." We learn also that "she was to present herself at the same spot for fifteen consecutive days at an hour which the Virgin would each time appoint." Finally, their informant disclosed that she had "had several heavenly secrets communicated to her, three of which she was on no account to reveal until the Virgin gave her permission."

All this, except for some confusion in the order of events, is familiar to every Catholic reader, but the following passage is noteworthy for its bearing on the accusation mentioned above that Bernadette liked it to be supposed that she was the focus of miraculous occurrences :—

> We questioned her closely as to the truth of several curious stories in connection with her which were currently believed in the town—such, for example, as that when she was one day on her knees in the grotto, and several others with her, all engaged in their devotions, the latter, as they rose, found their garments much soiled by the moist earth, whereas not a speck could be seen on hers. Again, she once completely surrounded with her hands the flame of a wax taper she was in the habit of burning at her midnight [!] visits to the grotto and held them there for

half an hour or more, without their being in the least singed. At another time her taper broke ; the Virgin bid her put her finger to her tongue and pass it once across the broken part ; this she did, and the taper was made whole again directly. So pleasant to the soul is mystery, that it was somewhat disappointing to hear her solemnly deny the truth of all these pretty fables.

Modern critics are prone to denounce the commercialism which they allege to exist among the present townsfolk of Lourdes, and the English diarist of 1859 suspected even then that the inhabitants might have a pecuniary interest in exploiting the grotto as a place of pilgrimage ; but it is pleasant to read in the same record :—

> The natives are highly scandalized at the merest hint of the advantages which will accrue to them from this in a worldly point of view ; and indeed there is such a bright intelligent look about them, they appear so honest and so convinced, and take so much to heart the faintest allusion to any unworthy motive for their belief in the miracle, that we could almost regret that suspicion of imposture should have entered our heads.

More nearly concerned with the subject of this article are the comments which follow :—

> I ought before this to have spoken more particularly of the little girl herself. She was a pretty-looking child, fourteen years of age [really 15 in 1859], with large dreamy eyes, and a quiet, sedate demeanour which added some years to her appearance and seemed altogether unnatural in so small a figure. She welcomed us with the air of one long accustomed to receive strangers, and bid us follow her into an upper room of the humble cottage attached to her father's mill. Two bright, happy little urchins—her brothers —were playing about and seemed in no way abashed at our entrance. . . . The child offered us seats, while she herself stood by the window and answered briefly the questions I put to her, but volunteered very few remarks of her own. . . . We offered her a small donation, which she politely refused, nor would she allow us to give anything to her little brothers—and we were assured that neither the parents nor their child, although very poor, will ever receive anything from strangers. . . . We certainly left her with the conviction that we had been talking with a most amiable little girl, and one superior to her age and station both in manner and education ; and whatever may be the true account

of the apparition, as far as the girl herself is concerned, we feel quite convinced of the sincerity of her faith in it.

It is not difficult to understand how in twelve months of the life which she was then leading Bernadette had acquired a self-possession which had in it even something of dignity. I fancy that she was at her best with visitors who, like these English Protestants, paid her no compliments, had no purpose of their own to serve and did not embarrass her by trying to discover matters of which she felt she could not speak. There can be no question that she was naturally reserved, shy with new acquaintances, especially those who did not belong to her own humble world, and almost always suffering from ill health. It was no small proof of virtue that she conquered her repugnance as far as she did. Sister Victorine, who had special charge of her during the time she spent at the Hospice at Lourdes, tells us how—

> Bernadette nearly always shrank from the task of replying to the questions of those who came to see her, if only on account of the fatigue these conversations entailed. Every effort of this sort told upon her chest and was liable to bring on a bad attack of asthma. When I took her down to the parlour, I used to see her come to a standstill near the door, and the tears, big heavy drops, welled up into her eyes. "Come," I would say to her, "be brave." Then she wiped away the tears, came into the room, bade a pleasant welcome to her visitors, and answered everything she was asked, without a hint of impatience at their importunate questions, or showing irritation when her word was doubted.[1]

It is to be feared that there were no curious intruders from whom she had more to suffer than the clergy, for they could not easily be denied, and in some cases they permitted themselves incredible liberties. Each was disposed to think himself authorised as a matter of duty to his flock to investigate the *événements de Lourdes* and to test according to his own methods the sincerity and religious dispositions of the visionary. On the other hand, Bernadette's reverence for the sacred character of the

[1] Cros, *Histoire, etc.*, Vol. III, p. .

priesthood was profound, and I cannot recall any instance in which it was made a subject of reproach against her that she had shown impatience or had been betrayed into disrespectful comments. At the same time she had much native shrewdness, and she can hardly have failed, humble though she was, to discern when a rather selfish purpose was being carried out at her expense. A certain Abbé Junca has himself described how in January, 1860, he summoned Bernadette, though he knew the child was suffering from a bad cold, to come to his hotel across the town in a storm of wind and rain. After much questioning, he told her that if she would confide her secrets to him he would communicate them to a great Cardinal Archbishop who was going to Rome and who would be able to do grand things for Lourdes and the grotto owing to his influence with the Holy Father. Disappointed in this, he asked her to show him her pious medals, but it appeared that they had been taken from her to lay on the sick, seemingly by cutting the string without her knowledge. He then offered her, so he stated, three louis d'or for her trouble in coming, which she, of course, refused with an energy which showed how this sort of pretence jarred upon her sensibilities. Nothing abashed, he next asked to see her rosary. This she could hardly refuse; but when he had taken it into his hands, he begged to be allowed to keep it as he very much wished to have a souvenir of her and would give her the price of it. Bernadette, as he himself reports, told him plainly that she had no wish either to give him or to sell him her rosary; still he was so persistent that at last she gave way. He took out his purse again to pay her, but she stopped him by saying that she would buy herself another with her own money. Even this, however, was not the end. M. Junca showed her his scapular and asked the child if hers was made the same way. She said no, but he was not content until she let him see it. When he noticed that her scapular was made with double strings,

he told her that a pious soul, a friend of his, would much like to possess half her scapular, and that since it was double it could easily be divided. This time, however, Bernadette was firm in her refusal. He kept her altogether some two hours, while the children who came with her waited outside the house in the cold and rain. But M. Junca, we learn, had been highly edified, as well as elated by his success in securing her rosary. "I told her," he says, "that I would give her my blessing, and she received it, kneeling on both knees, with all the reverence of an angel."

In the same book from which I take this[1] the Abbé Azun de Bernétas describes with much self-congratulation how he overcame the reluctance of the Soubirous family to receive presents. He was the author of a devotional work *La Retraite*, and was bent on proving that his friends were wrong in saying that he would not be able to induce Bernadette to accept a copy. Seeing that the poor child at the date of his visit (November, 1859) had not yet learnt to read, the gift was not likely to be very useful, but that was a matter of no consequence to M. Bernétas. At the house of the Soubirous he offered the volume to Bernadette, and he proceeds to tell us :—

> Instantly she drew back her hand in a prompt and unmistakable gesture of distaste, thanking me at the same time with an expression on her face which conveyed a polite, but quite final, refusal. It was a critical moment, and I felt somewhat mortified. However, I turned to her mother and said : "Madame, you will surely not reject this very simple gift. Think, I beg of you, of the spiritual benefits to which the possession of this work will entitle you. It gives to you, as well as to all the members of your family, fifty-two Masses a year for ever, in virtue of a foundation duly approved which secures these privileges to each person who owns a copy of the book."[2]

[1] Azun de Bernétas, *La Grotte des Pyrénées* (Tarbes, 1862). This very scarce little volume of 300 or 400 pages is the earliest printed book devoted to the apparitions of Our Lady at Lourdes.

[2] This can only mean that a Mass was to be said every week for the purchasers. In virtue of some such promise, M. Bernétas seems to have disposed of five editions.

The would-be donor further contrived to suggest that only a pharisaical person, who imagined he has no need of the graces bestowed by the Mass, could reject such an offer. Then the worthy Abbé adds, in a passage which throws much light on the control which Bernadette had acquired over the family conscience :—

> On hearing this remonstrance, the pious mother, turning towards her child, said timidly and humbly (*lui dit craintive et humble*) : " Ah, well then, as regards the book, on account of the spiritual privileges attached to it, you might accept that, couldn't you ? " And the child, in passive acquiescence, upon this expresseon of her mother's wish, took from me the volume which I offered. Her compliance edified me greatly.

But this was not all. M. Bernétas had already made up his mind to write about the apparitions. So he visited Bernadette again and, after delivering a little discourse on her need of preserving humility, he extorted from her a very explicit promise to pray for everyone who should purchase the book he intended to produce. Neither was he content with a mere promise, he wanted her signature attached to this undertaking. As she had not yet learnt to write, he had to make a tracing of her name Bernadette Soubirous, and she inked it over. M. Bernétas apparently had a shrewd instinct that the promised participation in Bernadette's prayers would help to sell this new book as effectually as the offer of Masses had promoted the circulation of its predecessor.

These are the incidents which priests, men whose connection with literature suggests that they were rather above the average in point of culture, narrated of themselves, obviously without the least suspicion that they had offended against good taste. But who shall say what Bernadette had to suffer from the hundreds of others who, as she said, came to stare at her as if she was a curiosity in a museum, and who must often have had still less refinement and consideration for her feelings. Even at Nevers bishops and other distinguished strangers who

visited the convent invariably wanted Bernadette to be sent for, and her superiors were displeased because when a ring at the gate announced the arrival of these personages, she scurried away "*comme un petit rat*," and it was no end of a job to find her. On the other hand, all through her life she loved to be with children and was always gay with them. They, at any rate, were content to take her for just what she was, an ignorant little person who had a big store of affection to give wherever she could safely show it.

It might have been expected that when in 1866 Bernadette was admitted to the noviceship at Nevers, three hundred miles away from Lourdes and its pilgrims, she would have found comparative peace of soul. But troubles in another form were awaiting her, and indeed Our Lady had told her long before that she would make her happy not in this world but in the next. To anyone who may consult the printed documents of the beatification process, it soon becomes clear that the most serious obstacle to the introduction and happy termination of the cause was the negative attitude of Mother Marie Thérèse Vauzou who was her mistress of novices and afterwards superior-general of the Order. Mère Vauzou, a good and extremely capable religious, but a woman whose strong character sometimes led others astray, undoubtedly formed a rather unfavourable opinion of Bernadette. It would seem that she had always been critical of the *événements de Lourdes* and that down to the end of her life, as she openly said, she could never make out why, if the Blessed Virgin wished to appear anywhere on earth, she should choose a rude and uneducated peasant girl (*une paysanne grossière et sans instruction*) rather than some good nun who had been properly brought up. The same mother herself admitted that when she had to say anything to Bernadette, she found herself almost unconsciously speaking with a certain asperity. It is not disputed that when bishops or others raised the question

of introducing the cause of the *voyante*, Mère Vauzou habitually shelved the inquiry, saying: "Wait till I am dead."[1] Naturally this reluctance of the mother whom we might expect to have been better acquainted with the poor invalid's religious life than anyone else, was made the most of by the Promotor Fidei.

The objection, however, has been overcome, and the truth seems to be this: Bernadette was reserved by nature, and her experiences at Lourdes had possibly tended to develop a certain independence of judgment. She did what she was told, and did it almost always without a trace of resentment or unwillingness, but she had views of her own and she clung to them. I cannot help thinking that the three "secrets" imparted by Our Blessed Lady constituted for her a code of direction which stood in the way of her ever surrendering herself completely to the guidance of another. These secrets, as we know from her repeated declarations, had nothing to do with the Church, or France, or any public or religious policy; they concerned nobody but herself. But without the express permission of her heavenly patroness she was not prepared to disclose them either to her confessor or even to the Pope. Bernadette, we may admit, was an *esprit borné*. She had no breadth of outlook; but, as often happens in such cases, what little she saw she saw clearly and adhered to tenaciously. I think she felt that the observance of what had been commended to her in these secrets sufficed for all essentials and would be her passport to that happiness in the next world of which Our Blessed Lady had spoken. Probably her view of the obligations of religious perfection did not quite fall in with the ideas current in many convents, and especially French convents, at a period before religious superiors were prohibited by the Holy See from exacting, as of right, a

[1] The Abbé Claude Boillot deposed in the beatification process that Mère Vauzou spoke to him in these terms in 1895, and another witness told how the same mother had been apt to say somewhat impatiently, when Bernadette's name was mentioned: "Oh! c'était une petite paysanne."

manifestation of conscience from their subjects. The very fact that the poor child possessed three secrets which meant extremely much to her and had become the guiding principles of her spiritual life, whereas her mistress of novices was not permitted to share them, was enough, as I conceive, to arrest from the outset any natural flow of sympathy. Mère Vauzou was capable of much tenderness, and of forbearance with the erring, but these were given to those who surrendered themselves completely into her hands. She wanted *épanchement*, and when she found reserves she was too sensitive herself not to feel chilled. She had, so one of her nuns deposed, *la passion de travailler les âmes*, but that chiselling or moulding process required plasticity on the other side. Bernadette's character, however, had largely taken shape already from her experiences at Lourdes, so that it was not entirely plastic.[1] Anyway things went rather badly. All the community knew that Mère Vauzou was hard on Bernadette, and Bernadette was sometimes betrayed into protesting in that rather unrefined way which her superior disliked : " *Oh ! notre maîtresse est toujovrs après moi* "—*i.e.*, she is always on my tracks and ready to drop on me.

What were the secrets which so many curious people tried to discover, but which Bernadette so jealously guarded ? I venture to conjecture that they were three very simple things, principles of conduct rather than revelations, though they were very probably reinforced by some sort of promise : " This do, and thou shalt live." We can reconstruct the message perhaps by a study of those features in Bernadette's subsequent behaviour which stand out most conspicuously as the guiding rules of her life and from which she never admitted any exception. They were, I suggest, these :—

[1] Père Lecerf put the situation concisely when in his deposition he said of Mère Vauzou : " Elle ne trouvait pas en Bernadette cette souplesse et cette soumission confiante et gracieuse qu'appréciait grandement la nature impérieuse de la Maîtresse des novices."

First, that she was never to admit the thought that she had been privileged to hold converse with Our Lady on account of any merit of her own.

Second, that so far as in her lay, she should never permit any temporal advantage to come to her or her family by reason of the privileges she had received.

Third, that she should never of her own free will do anything to attract to herself the notice of men.

Whether any such rules were confided to Bernadette or not, these were principles of conduct which, as all our evidence shows, she faithfully observed until her death. Sanctity is an edifice which can be built up of small things as of great. But the small things often cost. Bernadette was left free to attend, if she wished, the consecration of the basilica of Lourdes in 1876, which was in a sense the crown of the work which had been specially entrusted to her by Our Lady herself. But she could not have been present without attracting notice. "Oh!" she exclaimed, "if I could only see without being seen." She loved Lourdes and its memories with all her heart, and who can say how much the sacrifice cost her, but she was content to remain in her obscurity for yet a few years more. Death came to release her on April 16, 1879, as she murmured the Hail Mary for the last time, with a slight change in the final words: "pray for me a poor sinner"—"a poor sinner" (*moi pauvre pécheresse*) she repeated twice—"now and at the hour of my death."[1]

HERBERT THURSTON

[1] It may interest some of my readers to be reminded that the present Bishop of Nevers, the city in which St. Bernadette's incorrupt body still reposes, is Monseigneur Patrick Flynn, who on one side of his family is of Irish descent. His Lordship was at one time Professor of the English language and literature in the Institut Catholique at Paris. As the cause of canonization is presented in the name of the diocese of Nevers, Monseigneur Flynn can hardly fail to be a conspicuous figure in the ceremonies of December 8.

STATE OWNERSHIP VERSUS PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

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THE question whether collective ownership (by the state or by lesser political bodies) can or is likely to give better results in the economic sphere than private enterprise is, under different names, an important controversy in current politics. These notes are confined to the leading points at issue, which must be faced by every person who professes to take an intelligent interest in the problem.

The parties to this controversy divide themselves into three groups—the individualists, the economists and the socialists. The views of the second are rarely listened to, for good reasons—they are not so simple as to be capable of comprehension by the average mind without some mental effort, and they appeal to no special interest. Consequently, as in most other current controversies (*e.g.*, Reparations, War Debts, Gold, Protection, Unemployment), they are denounced as " academic " by interested believers. Yet the beliefs of the two politically-minded parties (the first and third) are often internally inconsistent.

The form of the controversy, as it is currently carried on in political fora, reveals two serious deficiencies: (*a*) approval and disapproval are directed at state ownership and private enterprise in general, and (*b*) the point at issue is never clearly stated, but rather obscured by verbiage about " national interest," " social welfare " or " the proper duties of the government and the right of the citizen," which has an hypnotic value but no exact meaning, and is indeed a good example of the pro-

verb that words were given us to conceal the want of thought. The essence of the economists' approach is :—

(1) That each case must be considered severally on its merits ; that the conditions of industrial production differ so widely that no general rule is possible.

(2) That the criterion of good and bad is the effect upon the social income ;[1] that whatever diminishes it is *prima facie* bad and whatever increases it is *prima facie* good ; that while this judgment may be counterbalanced by other considerations, it must be clearly recognised that such considerations are not economic but belong to the debatable lands of ethics, morals, religion and social welfare.

(3) That neither public ownership nor private enterprise can be treated as one and indivisible ; there are many forms of public ownership and many of private enterprise, and sometimes they are very much alike, as a comparison of the Bank of England and the Electricity Supply Board will show.

The first question to clear out of the way is whether a substitution of public for private ownership is feasible and could be effected equitably. The answer on both counts is unhesitatingly in the affirmative ; the Irish Land Purchase Acts illustrate the technique admirably, and the transfer amounts to the substitution of a fixed money income charged on the public revenues for the risks of ownership and the income derived therefrom. The question and answer are phrased in this way in order to isolate the problem of ownership from that of the

[1] The " social income " of any population—*e.g.*, the inhabitants of Ireland—is the sum total of physical goods and personal services becoming available to it in any period (a year being usually taken as the unit) for its personal consumption and the maintenance and increase of its capital equipment : it is the concrete statement of its " standard of living." References in this article to the " social income " mean, unless qualified, the average income per head of the population. The term " social income " is used in preference to the commoner " national income " or " national dividend," because the latter introduce the question-begging term " nation." Interested readers are referred to Dr. T. J. Kiernan's computation of the " social income " of the population resident in the Irish Free State, published in the *Economic Journal* of March 1933.

distribution of the community's income, with which it is frequently confounded.

Secondly, we must draw an important distinction between ownership in the sense of *dominium* and ownership in the sense of *gestio—i.e.*, between an ownership which does not itself exploit the property owned but leases the operation to other parties working under conditions of private enterprise, and one which itself attempts to carry on the processes of exploitation. The distinction is amply illustrated by the difference between the state ownership of land in India and of the railways in Australia. A recent illustration of the possibilities of the creation of a public *dominium* in what had hitherto been privately owned and exploited property is afforded by the situation that would have existed in Ireland if the Land Purchase Acts, instead of transferring to the tenants by way of sale a freehold property subject to terminable and redeemable annuities, had transferred a leasehold property subject to perpetual and irredeemable annuities of somewhat less amount.

This distinction is important, because the arguments *pro* and *contra* a public *dominium* which leases the rights of exploitation to private enterprise are on quite a different plane to those *pro* and *contra* public *gestio*. With respect to the former, three classes of consideration appear relevant :—

(*a*) the feasibility of subsequent leasing: in this respect real property—*i.e.*, land and minerals—is on a different footing than industrial and commercial enterprises, in that they are more likely to be continuously leased and that their preservation when unleased is likely to involve the state in less loss.

(*b*) The profitability of subsequent leasing: to the ownership of any durable property attaches the risk that future unforeseeable changes in the price that can be charged for its use may effect drastic alterations in the income enjoyed by the owner ; under conditions of private

ownership the resulting losses and gains may be and usually are distributed among many individuals by successive purchases and sales of the property, but the state as sole owner would carry all the risk. Except, then, in so far as the state could make use of its monopoly position to accentuate rises and minimise falls in the rents chargeable, the net effect of the transaction would be to saddle the state both with a permanent interest payment to the dispossessed owners and the risks of loss of income from the property transferred, a change which does not appear to have any distinct social advantage. The risk cannot be abolished; it can only be transferred to other shoulders. Of course, most advocates of state *dominium* hope that potential rents will rise, and they usually restrict their advocacy to kinds of property with regard to which that hope is most plausible, *e.g.*, urban sites in developing countries; the group of writers known as "single-taxers" went so far as to hope that the state's whole revenue could be supplied from this source.

(*c*) The prospect that the state as *dominus* may enforce less predatory or more efficient exploitation. This possibility is undoubtedly present: uncontrolled private exploitation of natural resources has frequently been short-sighted, predatory and wasteful in the extreme, as is sufficiently witnessed by the destruction of the American soft-wood forests. But the real and practical question is not whether the state could but whether it would do so; the chances are at least equal that it would not, but would merely substitute another kind of waste for the existing variety. Unless and until the party politicians who for practical purposes constitute the state develop a little more patient willingness to consider all the relevant points in an economic problem before jumping to quack remedies, it is indeed much more likely that the public control would lead to greater waste. The argument here is that, in point of policy or decision of what is worth doing, there is no reason to suppose that the state's decisions would

be any more disinterested, farsighted, rational and realistic than those of any company or individual. The comparison of the two *régimes* in point of administration is made below.

Generally, however, the advocates of public ownership contemplate a public authority not merely endowed with the bare *dominium*, but exercising also an active *gestio*. This proposition really involves three quite distinct issues, *viz.* :—

(*a*) Whether production can be most economically carried on by a system of competing producers or by one single monopolised enterprise.

(*b*) Whether the technical administration of any concern, but more particularly of a monopoly, is likely to be more efficiently carried on by a public organisation or by private enterprise.

(*c*) Whether public or private policy in respect of the undertaking is the more likely to be advantageous to the social income.

The answer to the first of these three questions turns wholly on the technical nature of the enterprise. In some forms of economic activity the *optimum* unit of production, technically speaking, is small, and such occupations tend to be decentralised, *e.g.*, farming under conditions of mixed agriculture, butter-making, retail trading. Here the chief condition both of the commercial success of the individual undertaking and of the efficient performance of the whole industry's functions in the economic process is the possession of a high degree of adaptability to circumstances ; hence such industries show a high degree of variability in the returns earned by different members, of fluidity in the *personnel* of the trade and of commercial mortality in that *personnel*. Centralisation of control, as *e.g.*, in Woolworth's stores, means heavy overhead costs and increased risks of loss from waste and defalcation. In such spheres of economic activity the balance of advantage is clearly against monopoly and *a fortiori* against state

ownership. Although in this class of enterprise the indications are generally unfavourable to state ownership, ownership by authoritative or co-operative local organisations (*e.g.*, the municipal sale of alcohol or the collective exploitation of groups of farms on co-operative lines) would in many cases be quite capable of providing the necessary adaptability to circumstances.

But in some industries the optimum unit of production, technically speaking, is relatively large, and such industries are apt to be centralised, *e.g.*, iron and steel, and rubber manufactures. These trades are characterised by a high degree of mechanisation and a spreading of overhead costs over a large output. But whatever economies may be effected in production by the aggregation of production in a smaller number of larger units, it also seems established by experience that the peculiarly vicious and wasteful character of "semi-monopolistic competition" between a smaller number of large producers may go far to counterbalance, and may even outweigh, the technical advantages of a concentrated productive organisation, so that a further step, to complete monopoly, would be advantageous, by retaining the economies of large-scale production and avoiding the losses of cut-throat competition between large concerns. The only assertion here made is that in some industries technical economies in production can be effected by concentration, and some wastes of competition avoided by monopolisation; not that the public, in its capacity as consumers, will necessarily derive any benefit.

The relation of this answer to our general problem lies in the inference that, if any distinction is to be drawn between kinds of industry more and those less suitable for public ownership, the economy of monopoly is an important criterion, and one that is in fact allowed great weight in contemporary practice, as is evidenced by the selection of "public utilities."

In answer to the question whether the technical

administration of any concern is likely to be more efficiently carried on by a public organization or by private enterprise, it is commonly alleged that state administration means administration by the civil service, and that the civil service, lacking the incentive of self-interest, administers in a routine way, without seizing opportunities—the charge, in short, of red-tape and a preference for discipline and regularity rather than initiative. The truth that this *vieux cliché* contains is rendered largely irrelevant by the want of real comparability between the members contrasted. The contrast is mainly a matter of scale : it is only in the small concern, employing relatively few persons, that the proprietor, who is immediately interested in the results of the enterprise as reflected in its profits, can exercise any effective personal control over the staff and make it conscious of the urge of his own self-interest ; and it is only in the case of such concerns (now responsible for a small and decreasing proportion of the total industrial output) that the adequacy of the administration can be said to be dependent on the incentive of self-interest. With increasing numbers, control must more and more be delegated to salaried officers enjoying a modified security of tenure, and a code of discipline and prescribed duties provided for their guidance : the larger the numbers, the more likely is this code to become rigid, discipline to take precedence over independence, and the officers to become a self-perpetuating body of administrative professionals, having only a derived interest in the profits of the enterprise. This tendency to professionalism, the consequence of mere size, will be strengthened if the proprietors either voluntarily or from force of circumstances abdicate their rights of control ; this has virtually happened with the larger joint-stock companies of Great Britain, to whose Boards of Directors the spur of direct self-interest is scarcely more real than it is to the government and civil service. In these large concerns where ownership is, for

practical purposes, divorced from control—such as, for example, the London, Midland and Scottish Railway, the Midland Bank, Imperial Chemical Industries or the United States Steel Corporation—the conditions of employment of the administrative staff are similar to those of the civil service and are likely to have the same effects upon the adequacy of administration that the latter are alleged to have; the only imputations that can reasonably be made against the civil service in comparison with these undertakings arise from the circumstances :—

(*a*) That the *personnel* of the civil service is much more numerous than even the greatest of these.

(*b*) That security of tenure of office is probably greater.

(*c*) That in industrial concerns figures of costs and profits provide a test of the adequacy of the management of the several departments and of the enterprise as a whole which is wanting in the nature of the work performed by the civil service.

The first and third at least of these influences are not universally and inevitably associated with civil service organization. In industrial concerns managed by the state the same internal measures of efficiency, in the shape of cost and profit figures, would be available as in the privately managed concern; the question whether they would be applied, whether the enterprise would be run on " business principles " or as a " social service," is one that touches not the professional administration of it by the salaried officials but the decision of politicians, filling the place now filled by boards of directors, prescribing aims and objects for the service; this is a problem quite distinct from the " red-tapeism " of civil service management, and is touched on below. The difficulties due to the excessive size of a service capable of managing any significant portion of the community's industrial activity can be overcome, to a degree not always realised in semi-popular discussion, by the creation of " autonomous corporations," *i.e.*, legally incorporated

bodies, having no shareholders but the state, governed by a directorate of experts appointed by the government for a lengthy period, subject to statutorily-defined duties (*e.g.*, the operation of a certain industry), enjoying independence in the execution of those functions and in the recruitment, organisation and discipline of the necessary staff, and exposed always to public inquiry into allegations of incompetence. This device enables the breaking up of the industrial *personnel* of the public service, as opposed to the purely political *personnel* (*e.g.*, the Treasury, the Army and the Courts), into independently-managed units comparable in size and in motivation with existing large-scale joint-stock companies. It is already used to a considerable extent (*e.g.*, the Electricity Supply Board in the Irish Free State, the Central Electricity Board and the Port of London Authority in Great Britain, and the state trusts in Russia), and it would appear that a number of state activities at present carried on by departments of the central civil service could with advantage be transferred to such semi-independent bodies (*e.g.*, the Post Office and the state's considerable banking operations). The device has the additional advantage of insulating the undertaking to some degree from current political manoeuvring.

Two alleged arguments from experience are advanced to support the thesis of civil service incompetence, namely, reference to the costly results of the expansion of government control during the war of 1914-18, and the unprofitability of many existing state enterprises (*e.g.*, railways and postal services). These arguments, on a critical view, lack weight, the former because of the emergency requiring the output of goods irrespective of costs and conditions, the latter because political pressure of the "social service" variety compels services to be extended and maintained beyond the margin of profitability at which a private profit-seeking enterprise would stop.

It must be clearly understood that the point of the

argument so far is merely that in those industries in which local or general monopoly is either likely or economical, there is no convincing reason to suppose that a civil service or quasi-civil service administration will be any less efficient than the existing variety of " private enterprise " in which ownership is largely divorced from control.

The answer to the question whether public or private policy in respect of the undertaking is the more likely to be advantageous to the social income turns on the policy risks associated with all monopolies and with all public enterprises; apart from the risk of " inert management " just discussed, the essential issue is whether or not the politicians, in whose decision the policy of public enterprises ultimately rests, will or will not accept the principle of cost as a guide to the relative expansion of different industries. The observance of the " cost principle " requires that production in each state-controlled industry be carried to the point at which total income from sales of the product is sufficient to cover the total costs incurred in the process of manufacture, including the costs of providing for current depreciation and future expansion of the industry's capital equipment. This principle, moreover, is the only objective test available of the relative desirability of different degrees of expansion of the several industries, and it can be shown that a distribution of productive resources which observes it maximises the social income. The distribution so dictated can be violated in either of two directions.

A monopoly, whether public or private, may exploit the consumer by keeping prices above and output below the levels that would be dictated by the cost principle, thereby earning extraordinary profits. Owing to the state's greater power of making its monopoly absolute, by political methods, the likelihood of its doing so effectively is probably greater, and the social significance of its success much less. Such extraordinary profits accruing to the state merely replace other revenue that would

have to be raised by taxation if the profits were not there, and their reasonableness can best be judged if they are considered as a part of the general tax-system. On the other hand, there is more likelihood that a state monopoly, not being one run mainly for the sake of profit, will avoid the restricted output concentrated on the most remunerative areas of consumption that is characteristic of the pursuit of the maximum net profit, and, even while observing the limitations imposed by the principle of cost, maintain a higher level of service.

The more serious risk from the political control of the output policy of public monopolies is exactly the opposite, namely that under the question-begging plea of "social service" the output will be uneconomically extended or the price uneconomically reduced, so that the sale proceeds will be unable to cover the cost of production. For example, interested parties have already explicity demanded that the railway problem in Great Britain and Ireland should be approached from this point of view. In a democratically organized state, where the first duty of the politicians who constitute the government is the attraction of votes, where votes can be attracted by the use of the powers of government to confer obvious benefits upon particular sections of the electorate, and where the general cost imposed upon the community as a whole to provide these special benefits can be concealed, this risk is especially great. There are indeed a number of devices which can be used in order partially to insulate a state enterprise from current party politics, but there is no known device which can protect it effectively against the fantastic notions and interested motives of the politician. So far as one can judge from experience, the temptation to intrude other motives of a vote-catching quality into the management-policy of a public enterprise would be almost irresistible, and the attempt would be made to direct more and more of them as "social services." There is not, of course, anything impossible about this: it only

means that the losses incurred by each enterprise would have to be made good out of taxation, the excess profits of the enterprises run for gain or inflation, *i.e.*, directly or indirectly out of the incomes of the persons supposed to be benefited absolutely and finally by the maintenance of the social services, and the net result, attained in a roundabout and costly way, would be nothing more than the artificial stimulation of some and the discouragement of all other kinds of consumption, which could be much more easily and directly obtained by a system of differential taxes and bounties.

The conclusion of this argument is that what is to be feared from the operation of industrial enterprises by the state is not so much incompetence and lack of initiative in their technical administration as the intrusion of wasteful and interested motives into the political decision of the extent to which each industry should be developed.

There is one consequence of public ownership which is commonly assumed, but which is by no means either a necessary or probable result, namely that the workers would be better provided for. They would not enjoy any greater security of employment. Present causes of insecurity are the personal caprice of an individual employer or *personnel* manager, the decline of one enterprise which is losing its market to competitors in the same trade, the decline of whole industries due to changes in the pattern of consumption, the reduction of the staff necessary to secure a given physical output due to technical improvements, and the periodical recurrence of depression affecting the whole economic structure : there is no reason to suppose that any of these causes would be diminished in effect under a regime of public ownership. Joint-stock enterprise has replaced the personal employer by the *personnel* manager as the authority on whose will the workmen's employment depends, with the vigilance of the trade-unions as a defence against victimisation ; public enterprise equally requires an employment manager.

Monopolisation or cartelisation avoids as successfully as state ownership the insecurity due to simple competition, and, as mentioned above, the trades in which monopolisation under private control is improbable or disadvantageous are those which are least suitable on technical grounds for public ownership. The insecurity from periodical depressions will be avoided only on the assumption that either the state will pursue a more stable and equable course of development and will be more successful in preventing the lop-sided expansion which is inherent in a capital-using society and lies at one root of the boom-slump succession or that it will use its political power to enforce all-round income reductions when a recession of industrial activity sets in. Neither of these assumptions is impossible, but, granted their requirement not only of a high degree of foresight (which perhaps the professional civil service could be relied on to contribute), but also of determination to face unpleasant facts squarely and commend the necessarily unpleasant readjustments to the electorate, what genuine expectation can there be of their realisation under the conditions of contemporary democratic government? The third and fourth of the five causes of insecurity listed above would continue to operate just as at present, if the public proprietor observe the principle of cost; if not, the personnel of the industry primarily affected can indeed be afforded greater security, but only at the direct expense of those who must pay the additional taxes to cover the industry's losses, and at the indirect expense of those who lose their employment thereby; the whole body of workers is not advantaged, but one section is at the expense of all the rest.

Neither is it a necessary corollary that they would receive higher wages. The possibility depends on the process by which ownership is transferred to the state. If this is effected by way of sale, the present owners being paid, in the form of stock, a price which is some function of the present and expected income and the industry

being charged with the service of the stock, then higher wages for the employes can be expected only in the event of higher productivity or smaller provision for depreciation and new capital; the latter expedient can have only a temporary value and must reduce the level of income that can be expected in the future; the former is possible only by reason of greater efficiency of technique or management—the one dependent upon the accident of invention and discovery, independent of the form of ownership, the other (as already discussed above) likely only in the case where certain wastes attendant upon competition are eliminated.

Secondly, transfer might be effected by way of confiscation. In this case there would be a margin available for the increase of wages, but it would not by any means comprise the whole income now accruing to the proprietors in their corporate or individual capacity. These recipients deal with their gross income in three ways: they pay it away in taxes, they save it and apply it to capital creation (either individually or collectively in the form of companies' undivided profits), or they consume it in their own personal enjoyment. It is only this third part which is really free for wage-increases, and not even all of that, for presumably the dispossessed would receive the wages of which their work would be judged worthy in a socialised system. The available margin thus left is absurdly small when spread over the whole body of wage-earners, and could be increased (without diminishing the capital provision for the future) only by the elimination of some of the present admittedly large wastes of uncontrolled private investment. But is it safe to assume that investment under the auspices of politicians will be any less wasteful? Hence, here also, the only real prospect for an increase in wage-levels depends on an increase in productivity, which is independent of the fact of public or private ownership.

In conclusion, the writer's opinion is that the conse-

quence of public ownership of industrial enterprises most to be feared is neither excessive conservatism and red-tape in management nor under-exploitation of available resources, but a vote-motivated, ill-balanced programme of development leading to crises and slumps similar to our present capitalistic ones, and intensified by the characteristically political refusal to face unpleasant facts, to recognise symptoms of the patterns of production and consumption having fallen into disaccord for what they are, to admit that hardship for some undeserving people is inevitable in the course of readjustment (which may involve the abandonment of some productive capacity too optimistically created), and tendency to pander to vote-powerful groups under the pretence or belief that their interests coincide with those of the whole community, to attribute misfortunes not to causes inherent in the economic system but to superficial and emotionally valuable influences (*e.g.*, " the foreigner "), to resort frantically to panic-stricken " measures of defence " whose ulterior consequences are but imperfectly realised, and to attempt to cure a disease by poulticing the symptoms—all constitutional defects of the political mentality which have contributed not a little in the course of the last few years to the present depth of our distresses.

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FITZRALPH'S earliest dated sermon was preached in the church of the Dominican Friars at Avignon, on July 7, 1335. It was the feast of the translation of St. Thomas A. Becket, and FitzRalph's sermon is a panegyric on the English martyr, with the text: *Transtulit eum dominus* (Hebr. xi. 5). This date is our first fixed point in the record of his movements after May 14, 1334, when he resigned his Chancellorship at Oxford. But we know enough of the history of the Stamford schism to be sure that FitzRalph cannot have gone to Avignon very much before the early summer of 1335. It is, for example, inconceivable that he was absent from Oxford at the time of Richard de Bury's official visitation of the University in the autumn of the preceding year; and we have reason to believe that the next few weeks or months were spent mainly in the household of the Bishop of Durham. The spring or early summer of 1335 is thus the most probable date for his journey to Avignon, and we can guess at two or three different motives which may have led him to visit the papal curia.

In the first place the new Pope, Benedict XII, was Bishop Grandison's former friend and professor, Cardinal James Fournier. The election took place on December, 20, 1334, and news of the election reached Grandison at Chuddeleigh in the following January. His letter of congratulation to the new Pope has been preserved in the Bishop's Register, and it begins with a cry of joy: *Letentur Celi et exultet Terra cum omnibus que in ea sunt, set specialius Johannes de Grandissono, filius vester ac in Exoniensi Ecclesia subminister, qui talem Doctorem Parisiis*

audivit et Theologum toti Ecclesie Catholice suis temporibus preesse, ut semper optaverat, iam conspexit. The Bishop had indeed good reason to rejoice, for the new Pope had more than once shown his interest, not merely in his former pupil, but in more than one member of Grandison's family. No other English ecclesiastic was so closely connected with Pope Benedict XII. And the new Pope's personal character and training was just what a sincere reformer of the type of Bishop Grandison could most desire for the well-being of the Church. Even as a professor at Paris, so Grandison claims, the future Pope had lived the life of a true theologian : *talem dixerim Theologum qui vere a iuventute victu, habitu et actu vitam Theologicam est professus.* And a closer study of the Pope's brief pontificate (Dec. 20, 1334—April 25, 1342) has convinced modern scholars that Benedict XII must be numbered among those Popes who were most sincerely devoted to the cause of ecclesiastical reform.[1]

Bishop Grandison's letter was conveyed to Avignon by some members of his household—*Presencium portitores, familiares meos*—whom the Bishop commends very specially to the Pope's favour. No name is given, nor is it likely that FitzRalph was one of the bearers of this letter of congratulation. FitzRalph was most probably either at Oxford or with Richard de Bury when the news of the election arrived. But he must have understood at once how favourable the new Pope was likely to be towards any friend of the Bishop of Exeter.

The King and Richard de Bury, as Chancellor of England, must both have sent messages of congratulation to the new Pope ; but there is again no reason to connect FitzRalph's journey with any such royal mission. On the other hand, we have definite evidence of a mission from the University of Oxford at this time, which may well be the true explanation of FitzRalph's presence at

[1] Karl Jacob, *Studien über Papst Benedikt XII* (Berlin, 1910); Mollat, *Les Papes d'Avignon* (ed. 5. Paris, 1924), pp. 63-79.

Avignon in the summer of 1335. It will be remembered that towards the end of the Stamford schism the University sent a letter to Bishop Burghersh of Lincoln, informing the Bishop that they were about to send *certos nostros nuncios* to the new Pope, and that these messengers would be entrusted with a mission to explain to the Pope the poverty of the University and its difficulties in the fulfilment of its functions.[1] FitzRalph's own experience would have made him a very suitable exponent of the University's claims, and his influential connections with Grandison and Richard de Bury would mark him out as a very natural choice for such a mission. If the University's representatives left England in March or April of that year, FitzRalph's sermon at Avignon on the feast of England's most famous martyr would fit perfectly with the rest of our evidence.

Whatever the immediate occasion of his visit to Avignon, FitzRalph must have known that this was the heaven-sent opportunity to settle his own future; and the choice which he made shows us that he had by now definitely abandoned the academic life of Oxford for an ecclesiastical career. Hitherto his chances of preferment, apart from the prospects of academic work at Oxford, had depended solely on the goodwill of his friend and patron, Bishop Grandison. As early as May, 1331, the Bishop's Register records the grant of £5 a year to *dilecto filio nostro Magistro Ricardo nato Radulphi*; and the letter in which the pension is announced makes it plain that at this time FitzRalph had made up his mind to settle permanently in the Bishop's diocese of Exeter: *tibi qui eciam in nostra diocesi Exoniensi mansionem perpetuam elegisti.* The letter also contains the promise of a benefice in the diocese at the first opportunity. FitzRalph had not long to wait for such a benefice. He was instituted to a prebend at Crediton in September,

[1] See the text in the Oxford Historical Society's *Collectanea*, Vol. I, pp. 9-10, (where this letter is wrongly dated).

1331; and in the autumn of that year the Bishop sought (and apparently obtained) a faculty from Pope John XXII enabling him to confer a canonry or other benefice on his nephew, John de Grandison, and his nephew's tutor, FitzRalph. This action by the Bishop brought him into violent conflict with the Dean of the diocese, Richard de Coleton, who had been hostile to the new Bishop from the very first. There had been trouble once or twice already, and the Dean now protested against the appointment of John de Grandison and Richard FitzRalph, appealing to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Grandison denied the right of an appeal to Canterbury, and counter-appealed to the Pope. In the meantime he excommunicated the Dean and sequestered his revenues. The upshot of this ecclesiastical quarrel may be briefly told. The Dean went in person to Avignon, but failed to gain his point. In June, 1334, the sequestration of his revenues was temporarily suspended, to enable him to raise funds for his journey home. The journey was delayed for over a year, for reasons unknown to us; and the Dean was still at Avignon when Bishop Grandison's friend, Cardinal Fournier, was elected Pope in December, 1334. The Dean hesitated for a time, and then began his journey home to Exeter, but died on the way (August 4, 1335). He was thus still at Avignon when FitzRalph arrived there earlier in the summer. Possibly FitzRalph may have been anxious to reach Avignon himself, where he would be in a position to keep an eye on an affair which affected his own future so closely.

Whatever the motive which brought FitzRalph to Avignon in the summer of 1335, it is certain that he secured his first important preferment during his residence at the papal court. On December 17, 1335, two letters were sent from the curia, one to the Archdeacon of Norwich, the other jointly to Grandison's nephew, John de Grandison, and to FitzRalph's Oxford friend and colleague, Thomas Bradwardine, both of whom were

Canons of Lincoln, announcing the fact that Richard FitzRalph had been assigned a canonry and prebend in Lichfield, and also the deanery of the same church. This conjuncture of names is significant. It is plain that the joint influence of Grandison and Bradwardine, who was the most prominent Oxford scholar of his day, had enabled FitzRalph to obtain a preferment at Lichfield very much better than any he could have hoped to obtain in Exeter.

In the letter which announces his appointment to the deanery of Lichfield, FitzRalph is ordered to give up the two prebends which he held at Crediton and Bosham, in the diocese of Exeter, and also to surrender the provision that had made to him of three future benefices: the chancellorship of Lincoln (a post which he probably owed to his Oxford connections), a canonry at Exeter, and a canonry and prebend in the diocese of Armagh. No other record has been preserved of this provision for a future canonry in FitzRalph's own diocese of Armagh, but the fact of such provision is proof that FitzRalph had not lost touch with his home during all these long years at Oxford. Ten years later, when his active interests in the interval had been apparently confined to Lichfield and Avignon, we shall find him again in close touch with the diocese of Armagh and its ecclesiastical interests. But for the moment Lichfield was to be his home and the scene of his activities as Dean of the diocese. Pope Benedict XII was rigorously insistent on the duty of residence, and one of the first acts of his pontificate had been to order all bishops and other ecclesiastics then resident in Avignon to leave the papal court within the next three weeks and return home to their duties. FitzRalph's first visit to Avignon thus comes to a sudden end with his appointment as Dean of Lichfield. He must have left Avignon almost immediately after his appointment, for his first appearance as Dean of the Lichfield Chapter is recorded in the Chapter's Act Book under date

April 22, 1336. For the next few months he was busily engaged on the work of building the present Lichfield Cathedral.

FitzRalph's fame as a preacher seems to have been already well established by this time. His first panegyric on St. Thomas á Becket was preached in the Dominican church at Avignon on July 7, 1335. Since St. Thomas was the acknowledged patron of the English nation at home and abroad, we may presume that FitzRalph was invited to preach the sermon in view of his reputation among the Englishmen resident at Avignon. The sermon gives us unfortunately no insight into FitzRalph's first impressions of the papal court, which was just now settling down to residence at Avignon as a permanent home; but those impressions must have been memorable. French architects were busy building the great palace which is still the wonder of tourists, and across the river the French Cardinals were rivalling the Pope in the splendour of their villas. Petrarch was just back from Italy, and the poet was only the most notable of the many Italians who thronged the papal court, jealous and resentful of French influence, but none the less eager to have their own share of the Pope's patronage. Simone Martini, Giotto's pupil, was busy painting frescoes for the Pope, and it was during the next few years that he painted Petrarch's Laura. Others were busy as illuminators and miniaturists in the Pope's great library, which had been built up by Pope John XXII, but which was hardly less favoured under Benedict XII. And through the narrow, dirty, ill-kept streets of the small provincial town there thronged all the varied traffic of East and West, North and South. Avignon had become, and was to remain for half a century, the most cosmopolitan city in Europe.

FitzRalph's prolonged connection with Avignon during the years 1337-44 has long been a puzzle to students of his career. That he was at Avignon more than once during these years was evident from the sermons which he is

known to have preached there: four in 1338, one in 1340, three in 1341, three in 1342, and one in 1344. Were these sermons preached in the course of a single prolonged residence at the papal curia? Or are they the evidence of a constant journeying to and fro between Lichfield and Avignon? And what was the reason for so frequent an appearance at the papal court? The answer to these questions has now been given by a student of Manchester University, Miss Hughes, in an unpublished thesis which she has very kindly put at my disposal. One of the Ashmolean MSS. at Oxford contains the records of the Lichfield Chapter during the years of FitzRalph's tenure of office as Dean, and the evidence of this Act Book shows conclusively that the new Dean had not been installed for much more than a year when he was required by the Chapter to represent them in a prolonged and tedious lawsuit at Avignon, which was fought out and finally won by them in the seven following years. The details of this lawsuit are not clear from the evidence of the Chapter's Act Book, nor is it likely that they would have been of any special interest to us. But Miss Hughes has been able to show in detail that FitzRalph left Lichfield for Avignon in the summer of 1337, and did not return to England before the summer of 1344. During that time he was, so it seems, indefatigable in the pursuit of the Chapter's legal claims, and a passage from one of his later sermons is worth quoting, as the impression of a hard-pressed litigant in those papal courts of Avignon which have so frequently been denounced as corrupt and unjust. The Dean has been speaking of bribery in his sermon, and he then adds the following tribute to the judges of the papal court. "I do not think that anywhere in the Church of God are such judgments to be found as in the apostolic palace. And I say this because for well nigh seven years I had a lawsuit here against an opponent who was far more influential than I myself; and by the end of the case I had obtained fifteen sentences in my favour against

as many appeals of my opponent. May God reward those judges for their just judgment on my behalf." It would be interesting to know who the opponent was whom FitzRalph regarded as so clearly his superior in personal influence. And it would perhaps be also interesting to compare the evidence of the man who had lost the fifteen appeals with FitzRalph's grateful testimony. But, as it stands, FitzRalph's fine tribute is worth remembering as a counterweight to the ill-tempered complaints of Petrarch, who could never forgive the French Popes for their Frenchdom, and to the savage attacks of Marsilius, Occam and the rest of the group of controversial pamphleteers whom Lewis of Bavaria had gathered round his court.

These seven years of FitzRalph's second residence at the papal curia are the decisive period in his life. The sermons which he preached are of themselves enough to show that he moved in the circles which were closest to the Pope's person. We find him preaching more than once in the presence of Pope Benedict XII and of his successor, Clement VI, who was elected in 1342; and there is also an interesting sermon which FitzRalph preached before the Chapter General of the Dominican Order in May, 1341. Some of these sermons were preached in the Pope's own private chapel, and FitzRalph must have been a frequent visitor to the great palace which was rising steadily during these years. But the evidence of his theological writings is even more significant, and justifies us in saying that FitzRalph went through an intellectual crisis during these years at Avignon which is of extreme interest for all those who care to follow the development of later mediaeval thought.

Only one of FitzRalph's works has been published in full, and that one has not been reprinted since its first appearance in Paris more than four hundred years ago.[1] Yet it is from his teaching in the *Summa de Erroribus*

[1] *Ricardi Radulphi archiepiscopi Armachani Summa de Erroribus Armenorum* (printed by Jehan Petit at Paris, 1512).

Armenorum that FitzRalph is best known to professional students of theology, who still quote some of his more unusual opinions in sacramental theology. This work, which is divided into nineteen books, is written in the form of a dialogue between FitzRalph and a favourite pupil. The preface gives us the immediate occasion of FitzRalph's interest in the problem of reunion between the Armenian Christians of his day and the Roman See, and helps us to date the composition of the *Summa* more accurately than has hitherto been done by scholars. As is well known, the Avignon Papacy is notable for its active missionary interests. The Crusading era was now over, though men had not yet grown used to the idea that Christendom would send out no more armies to meet the Saracen in battle. The Popes still worked constantly, but vainly, for a renewal of the old tradition; and their missionary activity must be viewed in the light of these aspirations. Of the kingdoms which owed their origin to the first Crusade, only the kingdom of Little Armenia still survived, and every year added to the dangers which threatened its existence. The country was Christian as a whole, but the Armenian Christians were divided into at least three parties: those who rejected all notion of reunion with the Roman See; those who were willing to accept reunion so long as they were free to worship as their fathers had worshipped according to Armenian rites and customs; and those who were eager to see Latin Christendom imposed by force or good will on the entire population of the Armenian Christians. The Dominican missionary Friars were the leaders of this last section, which seems to have been a small but very active party; and they had recently founded a society of the United Brothers of St. Gregory the Illuminator for the purpose of fostering the closest possible union between East and West in Armenia.[1]

[1] See the article by Father Ambrose Coleman, O.P.: *The Friars Pilgrims for Christ* (STUDIES, Sept., 1919, p. 456).

The most active and (from the Armenian point of view) the most troublesome of these United Brothers was a certain Nerses, who had first been Bishop of Ourmiah and had then been elected, or claimed to have been elected, Archbishop of Manasgard, a see in Greater Armenia outside the boundaries of the Christian kingdom. Nerses had evidently the faculty of stirring up the most intense local opposition to his missionary apostolate; and his activities were finally ended by an order from the Patriarch for his expulsion from Armenia as a disturber of the peace. At some date during the years of Benedict XII's pontificate he came West to Avignon, where he posed as a victim of heretical intrigues against Roman orthodoxy. He was welcomed at first, so it seems, by the Pope and the Pope's theological advisers; and his influence can be traced in a long list of 117 Errors of the Armenian Church which the Pope dispatched to the Patriarch of Sis in the year 1341. This catalogue of Errors was immediately submitted to a national synod at Sis by order of the Armenian king, who was alarmed at the prospect of losing the Pope's favour. The Fathers of the synod examined the document and indignantly repudiated the list of so-called errors as a malicious travesty of their doctrine. The reply of the Council of Sis reached Avignon in 1344, and the new Pope Clement VI sent out two special nuncios with power to treat with Armenians in 1346. The instructions given to these nuncios show that papal policy had become more lenient in the past five years, and it is probable that the Pope's theologians no longer regarded Nerses as a safe adviser in Armenian matters. He himself returned to Armenia at an unknown date, where he translated the Latin Chronicle of a Polish friar into Armenian, with additions of his own about Armenian history. The last mention of his name is in a similar connection. In 1353 Pope Innocent VI was again negotiating with the Armenian hierarchy, and found great difficulty in securing a trustworthy interpreter. A letter

from the Pope to Nerses appoints him official interpreter to the papal theologians owing to his admitted mastery of both languages.[1]

It was this Nerses who first interested FitzRalph in Armenian problems. The exact date at which they first met cannot be fixed, but it must have been during the long residence of seven years at Avignon which we have been describing. Nerses came to Avignon from Armenia most probably in the year 1339, and it is probable that he was resident at the papal court during the next few years. He had thus every opportunity of coming into contact with the scholarly Dean of Lichfield; and Fitz-Ralph tells us expressly in his preface to the *Summa* that he and Nerses had had long conversations on the doctrinal questions which had caused difficulty in Armenia. His *Summa de Erroribus Armenorum* is avowedly written as a guide to Nerses in his controversy with the champions of Armenian traditions. Not all of the *Summa* deals with the Armenian problem, but the first twelve books treat of various doctrinal questions which were under dispute between Rome and the Eastern churches as a whole, with special reference to the Armenian tradition. It is from these books that our theological text-books still borrow a few of Fitz-Ralph's more unusual views on sacramental theology. *Armachanus extra chorum cantat, ut fere solet*, is a phrase which I remember from one such text-book; and I have often asked myself since whether the fact that FitzRalph differs from the accepted view is not sometimes to be explained by the fact that he was in more immediate contact than the writers of our text-books with the realities of Eastern custom and belief.

[1] The documents connected with the Armenian controversies of this period will be found printed in Raynaldus, *Annales*, a. 1341; 1346; 1353; and also in Mansi, *Collectio Universalis Conciliorum*, Vol. V, col. 1250, where the Acts of the Council of Sis are given in full. Further details will be found in Dulaurier's *Documents Arméniens*, Vol. I, p. 608 and 702 (in the great *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*). Lane-Poole has given the wrong date for this episode in his article on FitzRalph in *D. N. B.*, and he has been followed by more recent scholars.

In any case these books are an interesting contribution to mediaeval theology, and are a proof that the cause of reunion between East and West was a stimulating intellectual force as well as a mere question of international politics.

FitzRalph's interest in Greek, as distinct from Armenian theology, can be traced to his personal contact with another well-known figure in the Avignon of his day. Students of the history of the Italian Renaissance will remember the name of the Abbot Barlaam, the Italo-Greek prelate who gave Petrarch his first lessons in Greek from a manuscript of some of Plato's dialogues. Abbot Barlaam was twice at Avignon during FitzRalph's residence there—in the summer of 1339, and again in the summer of 1342. FitzRalph met him frequently at one or other, or both of these periods, for he quotes him more than once in his *Summa.* The thirteenth book, for example opens with a statement that the Greek view of Purgatory, which is examined in that book, was first explained to the author by Barlaam in a series of private conversations. On the other hand, there is no evidence that FitzRalph made any effort to learn Greek. Since Petrarch describes in one of his *Epistulae Familiares* how he and the Abbot used to meet every day for the purpose of studying the Greek language, it is interesting to speculate whether the poet ever came into personal contact with the future Archbishop of Armagh. We are so used to segregating in our thought the North of Europe from the world of the Italian Renaissance that the mere suggestion of such an encounter seems extraordinary. But Petrarch himself has described in a famous letter his previous contact with an Englishman whom we have already met as one of FitzRalph's personal friends. Richard de Bury, with whom FitzRalph spent the winter of 1334-5, was twice a visitor at Avignon as ambassador for the English king, and the splendour of his retinue on these two occasions was long remembered by his envious fellow-countrymen.

It was apparently on the second of these two embassies in 1330 that the English prelate was introduced to the great Italian. Petrarch has left us an account of the conversation and its sequel. The poet was all eagerness to learn from this Englishman the true site and history of *ultima Thule*. Richard de Bury was a great book-collector and a great lover of books ; but he seems to have been one of those book-lovers who know the backs of their books better than their contents. In any case he knew nothing, or next to nothing, about Thule ; and he had an uneasy consciousness that the honour of England was at stake in this conversation with the greatest of Europe's men of letters. His escape from the difficulty is worthy of the best traditions of the English diplomatic service. He told Petrarch that he would prefer first to consult his library at home and then send him a full answer in writing. Petrarch took him at his word, waited for some months, and then wrote a reminder. No answer. Another letter ; again no answer. Petrarch began to see that he had been tricked : *expectationi meae non aliter quam obstinato silentio satisfecit.* And his account of the episode ends with the comment that a really cultured man never has any difficulty in admitting his ignorance.

Since Petrarch was every year growing more and more convinced that there were no really cultured men north of the Alps, it is more than probable that he would have had no interest in meeting FitzRalph had an interview been suggested to him by his Greek friend, Abbot Barlaam. Yet the coincidence of this double friendship is worth noting as a sidelight on the extraordinarily stimulating atmosphere of cosmopolitan Avignon. FitzRalph must often have seen the poet in the city's streets, for Petrarch is fond of boasting that he had only to appear in public for all men to be pointing him out to their neighbours. But the learned Dean's interest in Eastern theology brought him into closer contact than such chance glimpses of the poet in the street. If Abbot Barlaam, as Petrarch

tells us, met the poet daily for a considerable number of weeks or months, when he was teaching him to decipher the Greek of an ancient manuscript, it is natural to suppose that he spoke freely of his unusual pupil; and FitzRalph most probably heard the story of those classes. Those who prefer to imagine an Avignon in which the theological world was carefully segregated from any contact with the world of letters are preferring a fairy tale to plain history.

FitzRalph was plainly a man of wide interest at this period of his life. In addition to his discussion of Greek and Armenian controversies, there are long sections in his *Summa* which treat of the controversies that were then most topical in Western theology. The fourteenth book, for example, discusses at some length those problems connected with the Beatific Vision which had been so hotly contested in Europe under the pontificate of Pope John XXII; and the following three books of the *Summa* deal with the problem of reconciling God's foreknowledge with man's free will—a problem which had attracted the mathematical intellect of FitzRalph's Oxford friend, Thomas Bradwardine, in his great work *De Causa Dei contra Pelagium*. A more notable proof of FitzRalph's wide intellectual interests is to be found in his eighteenth book, where he gives a detailed criticism of the teaching of the Koran in answer to the Saracen attacks on Christian dogma. The Koran had been translated into Latin during the thirteenth century, and it seems certain that FitzRalph must have made a careful study of this work. But the most surprising glimpse of the Dean's wide range of interests as shown in his *Summa* is to be found in his frequent allusions to the contemporary Franciscan mission to the Far East and China—a mission which FitzRalph usually refers to as the mission among the Tartars.

We are apt here also to forget the wide horizons of mediaeval life and thought. In the years of FitzRalph's boyhood at Dundalk, the first group of Franciscan mis-

sionary Friars had made their way overland across Russia and Siberia to Mongolia and so to China; and the first Catholic Archbishop of Pekin, known to the mediaeval traveller as Kambaluk, had died in 1328, when FitzRalph was within a few months of his ordination to the priesthood. News travelled slowly from China to Europe in those days, and the embassy which brought the news of the Archbishop's death, with an appeal for fresh recruits to help the Christians of Tartary, reached Avignon in 1338, just a year after FitzRalph's second arrival in the city. Fifteen Tartar Christians accompanied the ambassador, whose name is given as Alan the Frank; and the stir of their presence in the city is alone sufficient to account for FitzRalph's interest in this far-distant mission. Even more famous is the missionary tour of Friar Oderico di Pordenone, who left Italy for Asia in 1316, travelled through Armenia, Persia, India and China, and so home again to Europe by Mongolia and Russia, reaching Italy in 1330.[1] Friar Oderico is known to have had an Irish Friar as his travelling companion for part at least of his long journey; and it is a curious coincidence that the *frater J. Radulfi*, whom we have identified as probably a kinsman of the Archbishop, was Provincial Minister in Ireland just at the time when this much-travelled Irish Friar probably reached home with a copy of his companion's famous narrative of that amazing world-tour. In the light of these facts, it is not surprising that FitzRalph quotes the conversion of the Tartars as a proof of Christ's Messianic kingship in the third book of his *Summa*; and in the eighteenth book he undertakes to prove that the Church of Christ has better evidences of the truth of her mission than any religion of the Jews or Tartars or Saracens. Another passage shows that he had a natural sympathy for the heroism of these wanderers for Christ. Discussing the general question of jurisdiction, a matter in which he was later to have a more personal interest,

[1] For an account of Oderico's mission, see *Studies*, June, 1932.

FitzRalph raises in his tenth book the question of those missionaries who go out to convert the Saracen or the Tartar without any formal sanction from their superiors, and who succeed in making converts. Have they the right to exercise jurisdiction over the converts they have made? Yes, says FitzRalph; for their work is a work of signal charity (*eximie caritatis*), and their jurisdiction can be derived from Christ's own mandate: "Go, teach all nations."

One last aspect of FitzRalph's teaching in the *Summa* must be mentioned for its importance in the history of contemporary thought. FitzRalph came to Avignon a Doctor of Theology, trained in schools of Oxford in the generation of William Occam and Thomas Bradwardine: a typical scholastic theologian, who had established his reputation, as was then the custom, by a formal commentary on the Book of the Sentences. It is all the more singular to note that in all his arguments, against both Greeks and Armenians, scholastic theology is set aside in favour of a direct appeal to the evidence of the Scriptures. Many of FitzRalph's chapters are in fact little more than a string of apt biblical citations. This absence of scholastic method might be explained by the exigencies of a controversy in which the authority of Scripture and the Fathers of the Church is undoubtedly of far greater value than the accepted doctrine of Western theologians. But the MSS. copies of the *Summa* all contain at the end of the nineteenth book a very interesting autobiographical prayer, which seems to have been composed by FitzRalph at the end of his life in 1359 or 1360, but which is of great interest for the light it throws on the various stages of his intellectual development. The prayer is addressed to the Word Incarnate, the Way, the Truth and the Life; and it contains a moving act of thanksgiving to the Divine Word, Who has led him by the true way to God's Word as revealed in Holy Scriptures FitzRalph had once thought that he

had found the truth in Aristotle's learning : *per Aristotelica dogmata et argumentationes quasdam profundas hominibus non nisi vanitate profundis.* But he now compares his earlier scholastic period to the croaking of a frog or a toad in the bog, lost in the darkness that vain men mistake for light : *Tu, veritas solida, in tuis mihi litteris splenduisti, fugans huiusmodi mei erroris nubeculam, mihi ostendens quomodo cum ranis et busonibus in paludibus crocitabam.*

This confession of a definite illumination, by which he was led to a new study of the Scriptures as the source of theology, is of unusual interest, and sets us speculating as to what the influences can have been that turned FitzRalph from the scholastic studies that were dominant in fourteenth-century Europe. One name may be mentioned as a probable influence : the great Franciscan commentator on the Scriptures, Nicholas of Lyra, who is usually counted the most learned and penetrating of all mediaeval biblical commentators, and who was teaching in the University of Paris when FitzRalph visited the University. Nicholas of Lyra was always insistent that the Bible can only be interpreted by those who have an accurate knowledge of the text ; and he himself was a competent Hebrew scholar, though he seems to have known little or no Greek. Did FitzRalph come under his influence at Paris in the winter of 1329-30 ? One of the authorities whom he quotes more than once in his *Summa* is an unnamed *doctor maximus Hebreorum factus Christianus*, one of the Jewish converts who were common at this period. Was it perhaps contact with this convert Jew that attracted FitzRalph to a deeper study of the Scriptures ? Was he influenced by some of the Dominican scholars, who were then the admitted masters of Europe in oriental studies ? Or was it simply the fact that at Avignon FitzRalph had got clean away from the academic traditions of Oxford and Paris, and had come into direct personal contact with the missionary problems of the mediaeval Church ?

A. Gwynn

GENERAL JAMES O'MORAN AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

BY DR. RICHARD HAYES

Career before the Revolution

FEW of the many Irishmen who went abroad during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and gave their swords and lives to foreign countries had a stormier career and more tragic end than General James O'Moran. He was born into the desolate Ireland of a period when her faith was banned and her people in serfdom, and when her more adventurous sons dreamt of shining lands beyond the sea. In early youth the army of France called him, and he was already advanced in years—scarred, too, with wounds of many battles—when the Bastille fell in 1789. Although the Revolution, soon after its outbreak, gave him the option to desert his adopted country, he stood loyally by her in her hour of stress until, a victim of the unhappy time, he fell under the blade of the guillotine at the height of the Terror in 1794.

He is officially recorded as having been "born and baptised on the same day, 1 May 1759, in the parish of Ross, diocese of Elphin, in Ireland."[1] Though he came of a noble stock that, loyal to faith and country, had lost its patrimony through the confiscations of Elizabeth and Cromwell, his father followed the trade of a shoemaker.[2] The family had as their lordship a large part of the old territory of Clann Cathail, that stretches between Elphin and Belnagare. In his poem on the ancient tribes of Ireland John Mor O'Dugan sings their praises :—

Remember the Clann Cathaill beyond all
Whose deeds of bounty are remembered in the East.

. . . . . .

O'Flannagain, chief of the land,
The majestic O'Carry and O'Moran.

[1] *Arch. de la Guerre* (Dossier, General Jacques O'Moran).

[2] In this connection one thinks of the rightful heir to the baronetcy of Rathconrah who, about the same period and in the neighbouring county, was reduced to follow the same occupation from similar causes. Writing in 1682 in his *Choreographic Description of the County of Westmeath*, Sir Henry Piers states: "Of the titles of Barons . . . . . there are several families that yet remain in this Kingdom, many are extinct . . . . . The Baron of Rathconrah, the family now reduced to one poor brogue-maker, the chief, and a few mean cottiers."

As a boy James O'Moran went for his education to Tournai in Belgium, and at the age of thirteen entered Dillon's Irish regiment in the French army as a cadet. He became second lieutenant in the same corps in 1759, a year that was full of excitement and wild hope for the officers and men of the Irish Brigade. France and England were at war, and the French government, having planned the invasion of the British Islands on a big scale for the end of that year, mobilised its fleet in the Breton ports under Admiral Conflans, a notable French sailor of the time. Arrangements were made for the transport of a splendidly equipped army of 50,000 men for the invasion. Half of these forces were intended for landing in the south of Ireland, and 20,000 stand of arms were to be carried for the recruits who, they knew, would join them on landing. The various corps of the Irish Brigade were ordered to the coast of Brittany to form the vanguard of the army of invasion. An illustrious Irish nobleman, Charles O'Brien, Lord of Thomond, was to be second in command of the expedition destined for Ireland, and with him were the sons and kinsmen of the Irish gentry who had left their native land after the disaster at Limerick. A notable Englishman of the time, who was just then travelling on the continent, sent home to his government some information which throws a sidelight on the proposed expedition :—

> I cannot omit so safe an opportunity as the present of renewing my assurance to your Lordship that the great armament is levelled against Ireland, though a ridiculous feint will be made on the Isle of Wight. The coast of Galway is the place of landing, as the bearer can inform you who knows much of the detail. The manifesto intended to be dispersed exhibits *Independence, Liberty of Religion* to all sects, and *Free Trade*. . . . They are encouraged to fix on Ireland by letters and emissaries from both ends of the Kingdom.[1]

Ireland was at the time seething with discontent, and there is little doubt that the young men of the country-

[1] *Sackville MSS.* (Letter from the Bishop of Derry to Lord George Germain).

sides would have flocked to the French standard. But, as was to happen a generation later with the expedition of Wolfe Tone, the elements favoured the fortunes of England. At the very outset the French fleet met with a severe defeat, and the hopes in France and Ireland, centred on a great project, were blasted.

The proposed invasion was planned, as has been said, for the year 1759. The Seven Years' War was then coming towards a close. In that conflict France and Austria were allied against England and Prussia; after the English naval victory the Irish regiments were ordered to leave Brittany and join the French forces in the main seat of the fighting beyond the Rhine. They distinguished themselves there in various engagements. Thus, at the siege of Marpurg in 1761, that town was successfully defended by them against a Prussian force of 10,000 men, and the latter were driven off with heavy losses. Young O'Moran was specially noted for his gallantry during the operations. He had been chosen to command the cannon of his regiment, and in that capacity his conduct received a particular mark of distinction from the Court.[1]

Despite her recent failure, France had not entirely abandoned the project of an invasion of the British Islands, and in 1762 the Irish regiments were ordered north to Flanders, where, at Dunkirk on the coast, they lay encamped during the entire summer of that year in readiness for possible eventualities. The winter, however, brought peace after close on seven years of strenuous fighting, and the peace lasted till the American War of Independence broke out in 1775.

In the interval certain plans were formulated by the French government for the abolition of some and the amalgamation of other regiments of the Irish Brigade. These proposals occasioned a considerable amount of dissatisfaction among the various corps affected, and when they partially materialised, a move was made by

[1] *Arch. de la Guerre.*

the British government to take advantage of the state of affairs by seducing the Irish officers from their allegiance to their adopted country.[1] The clash between them and the French authorities did not, however, become serious and, their differences having been amicably settled, the Irish officers remained steadfast in their allegiance.

In the meantime it is interesting to see that O'Moran, without family influence or Court favour or any of those advantages which at the period counted so much in military advancement, was receiving steady promotion. Placed in the rank of higher officers in 1763, he became Adjutant in 1769, Captain in 1771, and he was made a Knight of Saint Louis in 1778.

In the year 1775 her American colonies rose in revolt against England, and their Declaration of Independence in the following year caused a wave of intense emotion to sweep over France in their favour. Early in 1778 the French nation recognised the independence of the United States and, linking itself to the cause of the young Republic, proceeded to send military aid to its ally. One result of this was an immediate declaration of war between England and France. For five years America waged a strenuous struggle, in the course of which the various regiments of the Irish Brigade, as part of the French expeditionary force, played an active and often heroic part in the fight for freedom. Crossing the Atlantic with Dillon's regiment in 1779, O'Moran assisted under Count D'Estaing in the capture of the island of Grenada from the English forces. He was at the head of one of the three columns, mainly composed of the men of Dillon's corps, which carried by storm the entrenchment, hill and chief town of that island. After achieving this victory, Count

[1] While staying at Spa, Viscount Clare referred to the matter in a letter to William Knox at Whitehall: "There is now a general discontent among the Irish in the French army, occasioned by some very hard treatment which they have lately received in the reduction of some regiments and the incorporation of others into one. A spirit of economy, which has dictated this measure in France, would, I believe, easily induce the French ministry to part with the whole or a great part of what remains. . . . . " (*Knox MSS.*)

D'Estaing immediately sailed away and, a little later, encountered part of the English fleet which had arrived too late to succour its fellow-countrymen. An engagement took place, during which O'Moran was on board the French ship *Le Dauphin Royal*, at the head of 80 musketeers, of whom thirty were killed or wounded in the fighting. The news of this victory at Grenada was received with acclamation in Paris, where a *Te Deum* was sung in the cathedral of Notre Dame to celebrate the triumph.

A few months later, 8,000 French troops advanced on the town of Savannah, then occupied by a large English garrison, which was summoned to surrender. The Irish regiments formed part of the besieging forces, and after a hot conflict, in which much valour was displayed on both sides, the French were defeated. During the heavy artillery fire there were many casualties, and Brown, the Major of Dillon's corps, was killed, while O'Moran had his leg fractured at the height of the conflict. The latter's valour and efficiency at the attack again singled him out for promotion, and he succeeded Brown as Major of the regiment. Disabled from his injury, he returned to France after this engagement and, while there, the rank of Colonel was conferred on him in 1780. Eager for campaigning, he was back in America the following year, taking part with his own and the other Irish regiments in the great naval actions against Rodney and Byron in the West Indies, till peace was established in 1783 with the recognition of the full independence of the United States. Their object accomplished, the main body of the French expeditionary force came home to France; and O'Moran, whose gallantry in the war brought him a pension of 400 livres[1] as well as the American Order of

[1] Amongst O'Moran's papers in the *Arch. de la Guerre* there is a receipt for this pension, signed for the year 1789 by Lieut.-Colonel James O'Flanagan, a retired officer of Dillon's regiment. The latter was a brother of John O'Flanagan (The O'Flanagan) of Tuaraah, Co. Fermanagh, who was a Colonel in the Austrian army. The document is in French and runs:—

"I the undersigned, Jacques Pierre O'Flannagan, acting as agent for M. O'Moran, acknowledge having received the sum of 400 livres in accordance with the above warrant. Paris, 1 January 1789. Jacques Pierre O'Flannagan."

Cincinnatus, was on his return quartered at Douai with his regiment. While residing here, he married Eleanor King, a native of Elgin in Scotland, who had been residing in France for some years. There were two children of the union, a boy and girl, and it is interesting to record that, at her baptism, the girl's godfather was Colonel Arthur Dillon, who five years later was destined to die on the scaffold a few months after O'Moran.[1]

The Army and the Revolution

Much unrest prevailed in the French army for many years previous to the Revolution. Grievances of many kinds had generated a widespread discontent. Throughout the entire eighteenth century, indeed, this discontent existed to such an extent that, it has been said, the bayonets often wavered in the soldiers' hands and the swords in those of their officers. The pay was poor for the rank and file, food and accommodation were bad, while degrading forms of punishment were inflicted for breaches of the severe discipline. There was no recognition of merit, and promotion was barred against the ordinary soldier; for the higher grades were reserved exclusively for the sons of the aristocracy. As late as 1781 a decree was issued requiring even these to prove four degrees of nobility before admission to the army. Promotion among them, too, was frequently obtainable through Court influence and intrigue, so that the prevailing discontent was not entirely confined to the lower ranks.

[1] A document in the *Arch. de la Guerre* thus records their names and dates of birth: "William Auguste O'Moran, born 9 February 1788, and Eleanor Henriette O'Moran on 20 January 1789, at Orchies in the District of Douai." The boy became a student of the Irish College at Paris and later joined the Irish Legion, composed largely of the exiles who left Ireland after the Insurrection of 1798. After a few years of active service his health broke down. Afflicted with a serious nervous infirmity, he was in the Hospital of Bicetre for several years and died there in 1816.

It should, perhaps, be mentioned that in 1785 General O'Moran married a wealthy heiress, Miss Patience Singleton, a niece of Sir Henry Singleton, but she died soon after their marriage. The marriage settlement and some of her letters to him before their marriage are among O'Moran's papers in the *Archives Nationales*.

The years immediately succeeding the termination of the American War of Independence in 1783 saw, however, a change gradually coming over the spirit and outlook of the army. Thousands of French soldiers returned from that campaign filled with enthusiasm for the new ideas of liberty and democracy which they had seen triumph across the Atlantic. At this time, too, Masonic influences were becoming more and more widespread in many regiments. Private soldiers fraternised with their officers in military lodges, where the note of equality was dominant. These and other causes led, even before the outbreak of the Revolution, to a spirit of insubordination and a loosening of discipline in the ranks. The change became marked in the earlier months of 1789, when serious disorders were threatening; it was then realised that the soldiers would refuse to fire on the populace and that only the foreign regiments in the French service could be trusted to obey orders. The Revolution, when it did burst, kindled to a flame the fires that had been long smouldering. It was welcomed with enthusiasm by the soldiers, who eagerly imbibed its doctrines, while most of the officers, profoundly attached to the Monarchy, became its strong opponents. As a consequence a sharp clash of opinions and sentiments occurred in most of the regiments, and this, together with such events as the ignominious return of the King from Versailles, caused a certain number of the officers to resign their commissions in the later months of 1789. The great majority, largely from a feeling of personal devotion to the King, remained; they saw, too, that the Revolution was still advancing on more or less peaceful lines towards a constitutional monarchy. Thus in February, 1790, a large number of them, which included O'Moran and other Irish officers, appeared before the National Assembly and swore to be faithful to the Nation, the Law and the King. In the following month, however, the deputies of that body, with a view to democratising the army,

passed a decree abolishing the monopoly that reserved the higher military grades to noblemen. This caused much indignation among the officers, a considerable number of whom left France as a protest. It was, however, during the succeeding year of 1791 that various events happened which resulted in the emigration of nearly six thousand out of the nine thousand officers of the army. The first of these events was the attempted flight of the King, his subsequent capture, humiliating return and eventual imprisonment with the Royal family in the Tuileries palace. All respect for his person disappeared immediately among the rank and file of the army. Ceasing to regard themselves as his soldiers, they no longer looked on him as the " Father of his people." The clash with their officers was thereupon accentuated, and many of the latter abandoned the country in vexation and despair. A little later these were followed into exile by a still larger number as a result of two decrees of the National Assembly, one deliberately omitting the King's name from the military oath[1] and the other abolishing the foreign regiments in the service of France.[2]

At the outbreak of the Revolution in July, 1789, Dillon's Irish regiment, with Theobald Dillon as its Colonel-Commander and James O'Moran as its Lieutenant-Colonel, was quartered at Lille in the North-East of France. It remained there for the two succeeding years—the last two years of its existence as a distinctive body. In January, 1790, the officers of the corps appeared before the National Assembly and assured that body that the regiment was faithful to its oath to the Nation, the Law and the King. Soon afterwards, however, various changes following the practical application of the doctrines of the

[1] It was the refusal to take this oath which caused the emigration of by far the largest number of officers.

[2] Besides the three Irish, there were twenty other foreign regiments in the French army at this time. Even before the Revolution, popular feeling was against their continued existence as semi-independent units in the military forces of the nation. The decree of the National Assembly in 1791 provided for their incorporation in the general army.

new regime profoundly affected its history. The new military oath, ordered in June 1791 by the National Assembly to be taken by all officers, gave rise to many resignations among the officers of the various Irish regiments, including Dillon's, as it did among those of the French army generally. A month after the promulgation of the edict the officers of the French regiments at Lille declared that they were much perplexed, because the omission of the King's name made its taking irreconcilable with their sentiments and duties. In the same town ten Irish officers of Dillon's sought an interview with Marshal Rochambeau the Commander-in-Chief. Their main difficulty, they informed him, was with regard to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy.[1] This extremely harsh and unjust measure, passed shortly before by the National Assembly, required French priests to take an oath that was repugnant to their consciences; the majority of them refused to take it, suffering much persecution and privation as a consequence. Although prominent officers of Dillon's corps, like Theobald Dillon and James O'Moran, took the military oath and accepted the new order, most of their fellow-officers refused to do so, and their example was followed by the majority of those of the two other Irish regiments. Declaring his loyalty to the Monarchy, Colonel Bartholomew O'Mahony, for example, who was the Commander of Berwick's, crossed the frontier into Germany and joined the Prince's army with most of his colleagues.

An immediate result of the widespread resignations and emigrations was the creation of a large number of vacancies in the higher army ranks and the promotion of those officers who were favourable to the doctrines of the Revolution. Thus in July 1791 Theobald Dillon was transferred from the colonelcy of his own regiment and was made a General of Division with 4,000 men under his command at Lille. James O'Moran, who had been

[1] *Mémoires* of Rochambeau.

Lieutenant-Colonel of the same corps, was, by a letter of 25 June 1791 from the Minister of War, appointed to be Colonel-Commander of Berwick's—the post hitherto filled by Colonel O'Mahony. The letter ran: "I have the honour to inform you, Monsieur, that you have been appointed Colonel of the 88th Regiment (formerly Berwick's) . . . vacant through the resignation of M. O'Mahony. It is necessary that you should undertake this command as soon as possible."[1] A month later a further despatch informs him of the promotion of other Irish officers: "I have the honour to inform you that Messieurs Keating, Adjutant Major of Walsh's Regiment, and Harty, Captain of the 88th Regiment (Berwick's), have each been appointed to the posts of Lieutenant-Colonels in the Regiment which you command."[2] And in August 1791, O'Moran himself was further transferred from the command of Berwick's to that of Dillon's corps, which was now incorporated in the general army and was known as the Eighty-Seventh of the Line.

An additional factor, which at this time still further intensified the strained relations between the higher and lower ranks of the army, was the appearance of Royalist and Jacobin emissaries in the camps. A zealous propagandist campaign was carried on there by both sides. The former appealed to the traditional loyalty of Frenchmen to the Monarchy and foretold the ending of the new regime in chaos and disaster for the country, while the latter preached that the cause of the Revolution and the Nation were identical and that obedience was intended "for the slaves of tyrants but not for the soldiers of liberty." The Royalist agents were especially active among the garrisons in the North-East of France, and Dillon's regiment at Lille was particularly exposed to their machinations. O'Moran spent all his energies in countering their designs. When he was arrested two years later and was defending himself against the charge of being an

[1] *Arch. Nat.* W355, D855. [2] *Idem.*

anti-revolutionary, he wrote to the Committee of Public Safety: "At the beginning of the Revolution I was in command of the Eighty-Seventh Regiment (Dillon's) at Lille. As we were so near the frontiers and as attempts were being made to seduce my soldiers from their allegiance to the Nation, I informed General Rochambeau of the work that was being carried on, and at my request the Regiment was transferred to Arras."[1]

O'Moran and the First Revolutionary War, 1792

When the clash of war came at last between Europe and the Revolution in April, 1792, the military forces of France were ill-organised for the conflict. Her plan for the immediate invasion of Belgium ended disastrously—panic set in among the troops, who fled at sight of the enemy and shamefully assassinated their commander, General Theobald Dillon. But neither Prussia nor Austria was in a much better state of preparation, and for some months after the formal declaration of war the military activity of both sides was mostly confined to the mobilisation of their forces and the strengthening of their respective fortresses along the frontier. It was not, indeed, till late in September that active hostilities on a large scale began with the great battle of Valmy.

France was most exposed to invasion along that portion of her frontier in the north-east which separates her

[1] According to Royalist authorities the whole of Berwick's Irish regiment, in contrast to Dillon's, left France and joined the army of the *émigrés* in Germany. The regiment was strongly Royalist in its higher ranks, and it is certain that the great majority of its officers emigrated. But the following extract from the *Moniteur* (14 August 1791) would indicate that the main body of the corps remained in France: "It has been stated in several newspapers that Berwick's regiment marched in a body across the Rhine. This is a calumny. This corps went into garrison at Nancy on 8 August; it was playing for its march music the constitutional air *Ca ira*. A few days afterwards its officers, two sergeant majors and grenadiers, received invitations from the deserting officers of the regiment to join the army of the traitors. These invitations were accompanied by several printed copies of letters addressed to Berwick's regiment by the two brothers of Louis the Sixteenth —the letters were to be seen in certain journals. Officers, sergeants and men, spurning with contempt these proposals, came and deposited them at the Municipality of Nancy, which forwarded them to the Committee of Researches. In these letters the deserters point out the roads which were to be followed in order to leave the Kingdom without any risk."

from Belgium. Accordingly, the first of the three great Revolutionary armies, the Army of the North (composed of 40,000 men, with Lafayette as Commander-in-Chief), was mobilised there along an extended line. Condé was one of the fortresses and strategic centres of that region, and the outbreak of the war found O'Moran, who had shortly before been appointed General of Brigade, acting as military governor of that town and its neighbourhood. On learning that an Austrian raiding force had occupied the old Abbey of Saint-Amand, a few miles from Condé,O'Moran set out at the head of a detachment of his garrison and drove the enemy back over the border—he had fired there the first shot of the long twenty years' conflict that was only to end at Waterloo; the encounter, trivial in itself, was memorable as being the earliest in which the Revolutionary army engaged. Similar frontier actions frequently followed. Thus, a month later, on the 27 May 1792, another hostile party crossed into French territory and, appearing before Condé, threatened it with a siege. And once more they fled when O'Moran, pursuing them with what he called "his weak garrison," drove them back into Belgium.

During these early days of the war much unrest prevailed at Paris—Royalists were actively intriguing, suspicion and distrust were widespread. Daily recriminations between the two great political parties of the Revolution, the Gironde and the Mountain, provoked high passions. Each held the other responsible for the disaster to Dillon's troops at Lille and for the growing danger of invasion with which the country in its unprepared state was menaced. Both, however, vied in their zeal to defend France against outside aggression. They were at one, too, in their hostility towards the King, the Court and the counter-revolutionaries, charging them with being the secret accomplices of the foreign enemy. In June, 1792, a crisis came when, by royal decree, the Girondist ministry was dismissed; thousands of Jacobins marched to the

Tuileries, burst into the palace of the King, and treated him with much indignity. The notable French soldier, Dumouriez, who was to play a dominant part in the first war of the Revolution, was one of the dismissed ministers. He at once left Paris for the Belgian frontier, where he joined the Army of the North. Long obsessed with the idea of invading Belgium, he hoped that by this bold move two things would be accomplished—a staggering blow dealt to Austria and liberty carried to a nation "groaning," as he declared, "under the tyranny of the enemy of France." Through his influence a new and much-needed spirit of discipline appeared in the army, and he proceeded to strengthen the fortress-towns which he found ill-provisioned and ill-garrisoned. Not one of them, he said, was in a state to stand a siege except Condé, and this he attributed to "the care and efficiency of its splendid commander, General O'Moran."[1]

Unforeseen events, however, postponed his project for the invasion of Belgium. On the 24 July 1792, Prussia allied itself with Austria against France, and a few days later the insolent manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick, the Prussian commander, was promulgated. All Frenchmen who dared to defend their country against a foreign invasion were threatened with the most terrible punishments and, if the King or royal family were interfered with, Paris was to be totally destroyed! The response, tragic and memorable, of Revolutionary Paris to the manifesto was immediate. On the 10 August the Tuileries palace was invaded and sacked, hundreds of the royal bodyguard were slain, the King fled for refuge among the Deputies to the National Assembly, and with the events of the day the most ancient monarchy in Europe ceased to exist. The army was profoundly affected when it received the news. Lafayette, Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the North, though an enthusiast for the Revolution, was attached to the King by feelings of affectionate

[1] *Mémoires* of Dumouriez.

loyalty. He resigned his command and, crossing the frontier, was promptly arrested by the Austrian enemy and lodged in prison. He was succeeded by Dumouriez; who was still preoccupied with his favourite project of invading Belgium. Even when he received information that the allied army of 100,000 Prussians and Austrians had crossed the frontier from Coblentz into French territory, he still thought that the most effective way to break up the alliance and check the advance was to make a counter-stroke in Belgium. But when the news came that the great French strongholds of Longwy and Verdun had surrendered, there was consternation in Paris—Verdun was the last French fortress, and with its fall an open road lay to the capital for the enemy. Dumouriez, accordingly, hurried south with his troops and summoned all possible reinforcements to bar the further advance of the invaders. The two armies soon faced each other on the heights of Valmy, where on the 20 September the French won a great victory ; the ragged soldiers of the Revolution drove from the soil of France the choicest armies of Europe.

To support Dumouriez at Valmy a considerable number of the French troops guarding the Belgian frontier had been withdrawn. During their absence the Austrians took advantage of its weakened state to make frequent incursions into French territory. General O'Moran did not take part in the Valmy campaign, but remained at Condé, defending as best he could with his diminished forces the weakened frontier. During this time he had several engagements with the invading parties. The most serious of the incursions took place in the second week of September when the enemy, moving inwards and occupying Saint-Amand and a large tract of French territory, threatened Condé itself. Their advanced posts had actually reached its environs, when O'Moran, opening the sluice-gates of the town, effectively flooded the approaches. A few days later, determining to dislodge them, he left his headquarters at the head of six companies

of grenadiers with picquets. The Austrians, retiring before him so quickly that their losses were not considerable, were pursued as far as Old Condé, where they fled over the border. The Commissioners from the National Assembly, who had been sent to superintend administration, wrote him a letter of congratulation :—

You have deserved well of the country, General, and if the Austrian enemy have not succumbed under the steel of your soldiers, it has at least put them to precipitate flight. While sharing your regrets and those of your men, we are confident that on some future occasion your success will be even more brilliant. Your talents, your courage, and all those qualities which adorn a general, an honest man and a sincere patriot like you, are a sure guarantee of what we say. An officer of your type, when he has Frenchmen under his command—free and courageous men —can undertake anything and give an example to others. Public esteem, the confidence of your troops, the affection of brave soldiers are already your reward, What more could you wish for ? To conquer or to die—such has ever been your ambition.[1]

Signed, J. F. S. Delmas.
Dubois-Dubais.
Debellgarde

After the brilliant triumph of his soldiers at Valmy, Dumouriez, flushed with success, hurried to Paris to seek official sanction for his project of a Belgian invasion. Full power was given him for that undertaking, and he returned to the frontier to hurry on preparations. But the story of this invasion and of the part played in it by O'Moran must await a further article.

Richard Hayes

[1] In Paris, too, the news of his victory was received with acclamation by the Deputies : " At the meeting of the National Assembly on 16 September 1792 it was announced that General O'Moran, Commander of the frontier of the North, repulsed to a great distance the enemy who had surrounded the town of Condé. He has furnished a very favourable account of the action and of the zeal and courage of the officers and men who took part in this expedition." (*Moniteur*, 18 Sept. 1792).

FRANCOIS MAURIAC

BY VIRGINIA M. CRAWFORD

A LITERARY problem that emerges at frequent intervals among us concerns the religious responsibility of the Catholic novelist. To what extent is his work to be judged from a strict Catholic standpoint? How amenable should his novels be to Catholic moral discipline? How closely concerned with edification? In Ireland, which still suffers in a measure from an alien and Protestant ascendancy, and in England, where the Catholic minority is still, to some extent, cut off from the free intellectual life of the nation, the problem is apt to be judged on somewhat rigid lines and a demand for edification is allowed to dominate all artistic considerations, all probable verisimilitude. In France, on the contrary, the matter presents itself under more normal, literary conditions and is envisaged with a wider latitude. Whatever a non-Catholic ministry may effect, whatever anti-religious laws may have been adopted by the country, Catholic *littérateurs* in France enjoy a wide and open field for their labours, and their work is at once the expression and the heritage of a nation still traditionally, and in part actually, Catholic. Nevertheless the problem that concerns us is a very live one in France, and of recent years the controversy has broken out afresh in reference to the novels of François Mauriac. His brilliant talents, his wide popularity, together with the definitely Catholic up-bringing to which his early novels bear conclusive testimony, the obviously Catholic allusions scattered through his pages, combined with the frank portrayal of the habits of the most decadent section of Paris society, inevitably brought his books up against a strong body of Catholic opinion and made them the subject of both attack and defence.

Is M. Mauriac to be classed as a Catholic novelist or is he not, has been a frankly debatable question. To-day, happily, as we are able to shew, it may be answered in the affirmative, always postulating a wider and more tolerant outlook than some of our censors are willing to concede in judging of creative work. If the " conversion " has been of a less spectacular nature than that, let us say, of a Claudel or a Psichari, for the excellent reason that Mauriac never abandoned the Church of his baptism, he has none the less let it be known, both through his writings and to his personal friends, that the faith of his childhood, after passing through a long period of semi-eclipse, had emerged as a strong and living principle by which he himself was prepared to live and allow his literary work to be judged. The precise date given by Charles du Bos[1] for this efflorescence of a novelist who was a Catholic into a Catholic novelist was the winter of 1928.

It is a task of no small interest to read an author's works straight through from adolescence to maturity and to note the development, not merely of his talent, but also of his outlook on life. This is specially true in the case of a novelist of the clarity and sincerity of M. Mauriac, who, whether intentionally or no, betrays on every page his own thought and his own experience. Much has been written in the last few years by Charles du Bos, by Ramon Fernandez, and by Mauriac himself in autobiographical essays giving details concerning this recent and, it is said, youngest of French Academicians, but almost all of it might have been inferred from the novels themselves, more especially from those early and immature works of promise, *L'Enfant chargé de Châines* (1913) and *La Robe Prétexte* (1914).

François' father died in his son's babyhood, and the child was brought up by his widowed mother in the sheltered surroundings and rather stifling atmosphere of a very quiet and pious bourgeois home near Bordeaux.

[1] *François Mauriac et le Problème du Romancier catholique.* (Corrêa, Paris).

The "landes" of Gascony, with their pine-woods and vineyards and wide melancholy landscape, formed a background to his boyhood which has had strong formative influence on his artistic development. Indeed, in many ways he has remained fundamentally "regional" in outlook, in sharp contrast to the characteristics acquired through a long residence in Paris. He himself has stated that the college, conducted by a teaching order, at which he was educated, while surrounding the boys with religious influences and precepts, gave practically no solid dogmatic instruction, thus developing their Catholic sensibilities at the expense of their Catholic intellects. Hence, when apparently at an early age he went up to Paris to pursue a literary career, he must have been singularly unprepared to meet the many temptations, whether against faith or morals, with which he was assailed.

The first effect would seem to have been to plunge the young author into a sentimental melancholy which found expression in his two volumes of early poems, *Mains Jointes* and *Adieu à l'Adolescence*. These are definitely Catholic in tone and, like many juvenile poems, full of tears and vain regrets and treasured trivial memories; for their flowing, graceful cadences, however, frequently suggestive of his favourite Francis Jammes, they won the commendation both of Barrès and Bourget. His two first novels, already mentioned, belong to the same period and the same stage of psychological development. They are purely subjective and to some extent autobiographical, dealing in each case with the adolescent experiences of a youth, partly at Bordeaux and partly in Paris. Somewhat amateurish in form, they already give proof of Mauriac's keen powers of observation and his faculty of adopting a detached, ironic attitude even in relation to his own experiences. Thus both the novels attracted much favourable comment.

For Mauriac, as for all young Frenchmen, the war made a complete break and brought to an abrupt close

his adolescent period. It is true that *La Chair et le Sang* (1920) is till somewhat romantic in conception and amateurish in treatment, with reminiscences of Stendhal, and that Mauriac only stepped into his full powers a year or two later with the publication of *Le Baiser au Lépreux*, followed by *Génitrix*, slim volumes, each containing what may best be described as a long short story. For each deals only with a single theme in a narrow setting, thus concentrating attention on a single human passion, in the former on the relations between husband and wife and in the latter between mother and son. What indicates the immense advance on his earlier work is in the style. Gone for good are the sentimental meanderings of youth. Mauriac shews suddenly an artistic competence, a firm grasp of his theme treated with clarity amounting to hardness and at times almost to cruelty. In each book he has conceived a terribly painful situation, and he spares us no single poignant detail. Both these stories are as sections cut from the old well-to-do peasant life of the Gironde which unfolds itself bit by bit throughout Mauriac's work, with its stubborn, violent manhood, its sheltered, suppressed womanhood, and its hot wine-producing climate.

In the *Baiser au Lépreux* we are shewn the prosperous Péloueyre family arranging, with the encouragement of the well-meaning *curé*, the marriage of " le fils Péloueyre," a feeble youth, shy and incompetent, but conscious of his own deficiencies and hiding a sensitive soul behind his unattractive exterior. A bride is easily found for him in lovely seventeen-year-old Noémi d'Artiailh, for " on ne refuse pas le fils Péloueyre," who brings with him " dairy-farms, flocks of sheep, family plate, the house-linen of ten generations piled up on wide scented shelves," and is connected with all that is best in the countryside. The result is a long-drawn out tragedy of married life. The husband becomes intimately conscious of the physical shrinking he inspires, and the little bride, gentle and

virtuous, tries in vain to respond to the love which she knows her husband bears her, but can only bring herself to give him "kisses such as of old the lips of saints conferred upon lepers." In the end, advised by the *curé*, Jean betakes himself on some pretext to Paris, and returns a shattered invalid to a Noémi, who gladly acts as nurse rather than as wife. Yet even his death-bed is rendered the more bitter by the ardent glances flung by the handsome young doctor at Noémi, who could not force herself to remain wholly indifferent to them. Never has the French *mariage de convenance* been revealed more mercilessly.

Génitrix deals with a theme no less French in its actuality: the exaggerated, dominating love of a mother for her son and its corroding effect on his married life, a theme with which D. H. Lawrence, though in a less relentless form, has made us familiar in *Sons and Lovers*. The originality of Mauriac's treatment of a theme that might easily be commonplace lies in the fact that the story opens with the lonely death, after a miscarriage, of the neglected little bride, and describes how her memory and the remorse of the elderly husband free him at length from the selfish control of his aged mother. Thus it is only through the medium of Fernand Casenave's memory that the domestic drama, in which Mathilde has been hopelessly worsted, is related. Never was mother's love rendered less attractive than in the person of old Madame Casenave, who sees herself thrust out of her son's life by the memory of the despised daughter-in-law. Yet when she too dies she enjoys a measure of revenge; for then, in the memory of the lonely, broken man it is once more the figure of his mother that dominates all others.

The next few years saw the rapid production of a brilliant series of novels—*Le Fleuve de Feu*, *Le Désert de l'Amour*, *Thérèse Desqueyroux*, *Destins*, and others, thanks to which François Mauriac emerged as one of the most popular and most discussed of French novelists. For

there is a provocative quality in all that he writes, an intensity of sensibility, an acuteness of insight that is merciless in psychological dissection, and a cynical outlook that sees all life *en noir*. For this mood, however, Mauriac cannot be held wholly responsible; it is characteristic, as René Doumic[1] has pointed out, of the early post-war years, when even the victorious nations passed through a phase of profound disillusionment.

One of the attractions of Mauriac's novels lies precisely in the continual contrast he presents between the solid traditional peasant life amid which he was reared and the brilliant artificial life of Paris to which he was transferred. Impossible for the two to fuse, and they remain throughout his work as antagonistic sources of inspiration. Yet in truth it is from his native vine-growing province that he acquires his fundamental material, the body from which his fiction is built up. He draws from it indeed no spiritual inspiration, but a real understanding of nature, a closeness to its fertile soil, an appreciation of the thrill and the peril of the grape harvest and of the recurring terror of the destructive hailstorms. From such surroundings there emerge naturally strong characters, often violent and egotistic and narrow in outlook, but the stuff from which a virile nation is moulded and presented to us by the author in firm outline.

The Parisian society he paints is, on the contrary, often revolting in its gay superficiality, the men contemptible beyond words, the women absorbed in a whirl of excitement. Gone is the *ingénue* of nineteenth century romance with her ignorance and her coy charm. Such girls as May Dupont-Gunther in *La Chair et le Sang*, Gisèle de Plailly in *Le Fleuve de Feu*, or Paule de Sesque in *Destins*, in their rapacious pursuit of their own selfish desires have no single redeeming quality. Moreover, we all know that it is a very small section of Paris society that behaves as his characters behave—the lives of such people

[1] *Revue des Deux Mondes*. July 15, 1926.

are entirely abnormal, they are mere parasites on the real life of the nation—and it is one of the blots on M. Mauriac's writing that in Paris at least he would appear to have had no eyes for men and women of a different type. It is true that *Le Fleuve de Feu* has an edifying Catholic ending: the dissolute hero pursues his earlier victim one Sunday morning to the village whither she had fled, to find her leading the singing of the choir at Mass and kneeling at the altar-rails for Holy Communion, and is so touched by the sight that he relinquishes all further evil thoughts concerning her. But this hardly suffices to make the story acceptable to Catholic readers. *Thérèse Desqueyroux* is an elaborate psychological study of the reasons which induce an apparently virtuous wife to attempt to poison her husband, and the sympathies of the author would almost appear to lie with the wife. *Le Désert de l'Amour* sets out to give us a more serious picture of normal provincial life, and there are fine elements in the character of Dr. Courrèges, absorbed in his scientific work and his patients, and suddenly falling in love with one of the latter, who reveres him as her grave medical adviser. The picture of the Courrèges family circle—highly respectable, provincial people—might have had a pathetic, even a tragic, aspect, but Mauriac only reveals its members as jealous and spiteful to one another and Madame Courrèges as exasperatingly unsympathetic to her busy doctor husband, full of domestic woes and grievances against her servants.

All these novels belong to what may frankly be described as the least Catholic years of Mauriac's life, years when we imagine that he must have been willing to allow the religious influences of his boyhood to sink into the background of his mind. Characteristically enough, they are brought to a close by the only story in which there is any definitely anti-Catholic bias. In *Destins* Jean Gornac is the familiar type of rich peasant vinegrower, and his widowed daughter-in-law, Elizabeth, is his faithful aide.

She is, too, one of the most sympathetic studies of womanhood that the author has given us, devout and practical. But on the verge of middle-age her long-suppressed emotional life suddenly flares up in a romantic semi-maternal devotion to an utterly worthless but attractive young neighbour, whom she has known from his childhood. Her long-acquired reserve saves her from any foolish demonstration of feelings that she herself barely understands but which Mauriac dissects with his usual brilliant clarity. It is of her son Pierre, who plays an important part in the rather unpleasant situation created, that the author paints as ruthless a picture of the devout Catholic, at once pharisaic and scrupulous, as any anti-clerical could desire.

The first novel in which a definite " change of heart " in the writer becomes apparent is *Ce Qui Etait Perdu.* Read carelessly it might not appear to differ substantially from its forerunners : the two young married men are his usual type of degenerates, wholly given up to dissipation, and their wives are not much more attractive. Yet it soon becomes clear that Mauriac's own attitude towards his characters is modified. In Irène, ill and nerve-racked and facing a lonely death, he brings out the spiritual craving which ennobled her starved nature and which, maybe, at the end found utterance in true prayer. But it is in the character of her devout mother-in-law, distressed beyond words at the prospect of her daughter-in-law's death without the Sacraments and yet feeling unable to intervene with any hope of success, that Mauriac shews a new understanding of the Catholic mind. And although he cannot refrain from making old Madame Blénauge at times slightly ridiculous, he is able to write a confessional scene full of spiritual insight when the saintly old woman, in an agony of remorse, pours out all her shortcomings towards her irreligious daughter-in-law and all her indulgence towards her guilty son. Charles du Bos tells us that in the first draft of the story it was from the

inter-relations of the young people alone that the plot was to be drawn, and that it was the change in Mauriac's own mental attitude in the course of composing this "transitional" novel that enabled him to shift the centre of interest to the inter-relations between Hervé, his mother and his wife Irène, a theme wholly worthy of a Catholic novelist.

It is in *Souffrances et Bonheur du Chrétien* that Mauriac relates his own spiritual progress from a state of mind in which he can only see the sacrifices on our individual freedom that the Christian religion imposes, to a state in which he realises something at least of the joy and peace of the true Christian soul. Two years separate the composition of the two parts of the book, years in which the whole religious problem, of the end of man, of sin and grace, has greatly occupied his thoughts. With the same clarity and logic with which all his life he has dissected human nature in others, so he dissects his own spiritual moods and discouragements. As with many Frenchmen, his difficulties have been far more moral than intellectual and cannot be overcome at one blow. With a certain ingenuousness he confesses that at one stage, "to purify the source" had seemed to him the cure for all the evil that might be attributed to his books, but that he had come to perceive that even in a state of grace his characters still had their roots in, and drew their life from, all that was least pure in his inner consciousness and he admits ruefully that he nearly always fails with his virtuous characters.

Nevertheless the *Noeud de Vipères*,[1] the first fruits of Mauriac's conscious return to the fullness of the Christian faith, marks, in the opinion of all, a fresh stage in his career as a novelist. It is unquestionably his most accomplished work—in the eyes of many a really great novel, both as to its central theme and as to the high level at which a difficult situation is developed. It presents a

[1] Translated into English under the title *Viper's Tangle*. (Gollancz).

unity of treatment and a dignity of diction to which he has not previously attained.

The story deals with a provincial family, outwardly united but inwardly riven by bitter hatreds and jealousies, a veritable nest of vipers. It is told in the first person in the form of a testamentary document to be revealed only after the death of the writer, a miser, a man of violent and suspicious character, a terror to his wife and children, so that everyone becomes leagued against him, and he realises in old age that he is an object of hatred and suspicion, tolerated only for the sake of the vast fortune that all are fearful of losing at his death. This hardens the old man's heart, and he makes a deliberate effort to transfer his huge wealth to an illegitimate son. But Robert rejects the offer from fear of the law; the old man's wife dies; a loved nephew is killed in the war; heart disease lays a heavy hand on him, and he begins to ask himself if, after all, his life has not been a failure, if money is really what he loves best, if life, in truth, has nothing else to offer. His son and daughter, with a narrow spiritual outlook, see nothing in his new gentleness but a fresh hypocrisy intended to entangle them; it is only a grand-daughter who dimly perceives in him a true change of heart. With an admirable reticence Mauriac spares us the oft-told tale of a death-bed repentance, while skilfully conveying an understanding of the real spiritual conversion that has silently taken place. It is only when the pen has slipped from the fingers of the dying man that the grand-daughter reveals to a sceptical family that the old miser had not only left them his whole fortune, but that he had indeed made his peace with the Church. To a Zola, with a purely materialistic conception of life, such a conclusion would have been unthinkable; to the Catholic novelist the possibilities of divine grace are infinite, together with the understanding that no one is as evil at heart as worldly judges assume.

Le Noeud de Vipères thus rightly establishes M.

Mauriac as a Catholic novelist, and his latest story, *Le Mystère Frontenac*, with its reversion to memories of his own adolescence, contains nothing to alter the favourable verdict. Yet to a writer of such acute psychological perceptions and such troubled self-consciousness the problem continues to present difficulties, if not to M. Mauriac's readers, at least to himself. He complains, not without a show of reason, that readers and critics of to-day incessantly demand of a novelist that he should "se livrer," that, in effect, he should unburden his soul in public and establish an obvious harmony between himself and his creative work. Frankly, in spite of his moving protestations, no writer has been more ready to "se livrer" in this manner than Mauriac. Indeed a whole literature is growing up concerned with his attitude towards life and the reactions of grace on contemporary *littérateurs*, to which he himself has largely contributed. Many an interesting sidelight is thrown on his fresh interpretations in the brilliant biographical studies that he has produced in recent years: *Jean Racine*, *Trois Grands Hommes devant Dieu* (Molière, Rousseau and Flaubert), and *Pascal et Jacqueline*, in all of which the reactions of grace on human character is the leading motive. Pascal, naturally, exercises a special attraction for him, and incidentally his sister Jacqueline, the Port-Royal nun of whom most of us know so little, becomes under his pen as vivid and real to us as any of his heroines of romance. Indeed it is an open question whether one does not enjoy M. Mauriac more as an imaginative re-constructor of historical characters than as a writer of pure fiction.

It is in his *Dieu et Mammon* that Mauriac expounds most fully that "inquiétude religieuse" from which he has suffered more or less all his life. Mauriac tells us that he was born a Catholic, that thus faith was imposed upon him, and that he has never been able to divest himself from it even in those moments in his earlier years when he may have been tempted to do so. With a touch of

personal passion he goes on to describe the position of the Catholic man of letters, distraught between two opposing desires: on the one hand a compelling urge to write at all costs and a genuine zeal for describing truthfully human passions and emotions, and on the other the sense of moral responsibility towards his readers, whom, again, he desires to see as numerous as possible. Criticised by André Gide on one side and by Jacques Maritain on the other, he clearly feels that his literary lot is a hard one. Maritain, indeed, in his *Art et Scholastique* admits the reality of these internal conflicts, remarking that Christianity does not "make Art easy" and asserts that "the artist is subject to a kind of asceticism which may at times demand heroic sacrifice," and that "from the point of view of the beauty of the work" the artist must, in a measure, practise the virtues of the Saint. But to Mauriac all this constitutes a hard saying, and he pleads that such super-human virtue is something beyond what can be expected of himself and his fellow-novelists. There is, however, reason to believe that since *Dieu et Mammon* was published, M. Mauriac's own spiritual life has progressed, and that his firm resolve to "purifier la source" in the face of all obstacles is likely to bear good fruit in future.

Here we must take leave of this much-discussed author. Probably opinion will always be divided concerning the moral justification for certain pages he has written. Yet it must not be forgotten that in a country like France, where writers, for the most part, are frankly Christian or anti-Christian and where the war between faith and unbelief is ceaseless and clamorous, the most popular imaginative writer of to-day has proclaimed himself clearly and unequivocally as a faithful son of the Church, prepared to see his literary work judged by Christian standards. Hence many feel that the literary indiscretions of his earlier years should no longer be brought up against him.

V. M. Crawford

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MCKENNA, S.J.

XXVIII

TONSURE

1. An foltra duit a Dé atar
airgid éadtrom ir í cruaid
mór gur a-nocht mo cuid cionad
an folt duid 'n-a ionad uaim.

2. Mait a ciorad ir a cumdac
i gcrioc Éirionn an feoir buig
truag liomra an bocht [i n-a brúilig]
an folt fionnra a Dúilim duid.

3. Tiomnaim duit a Dé a atair
m'folt do beartad dá barr car
cóir a Dé atar a aonad
do racad ré [a] aonar ar.

4. M'foltra agus folt car mo compáin
dod céid druimnig 'r dod dreic buig
an folt fionnra 'r an folt buide
ir locht liomra a nduide duid.

5. A mbeartad ir beag an oicra
an dá foltra ar eagla an bráit
an diarra a-nocht a meic Muire
ag reic a broit mbuide mbláit.

6. Fearr an colann do créacht tura
tár ar gceinne cruaid an glonn
fearr maire an cúil 'r a cáide
glaire an trúil ir 'r báine an bonn.

7. Soillre an tráct ir an taob feada
[réime] an bráige mar blát flat
'r ir báine an bonn a cnú cride
do toll tú 'r ir gile an glac.

8. Gile an déad 'r ir duinne an [mala]
mine an agaid cuanna an corp
áille fnuad na céibe caime
péibe an gruad 'r ir fainne an folt.

9. Ceitre bliadna don barr ógfa
oram gur an oidce a-noct
beanfad díom an céadbarr camfa
díol na mbréagrann bfallfa an folt.
An foltfa

Translation

1. This hair I offer Thee, O God the Father; 'tis a slight gift, yet one hard to give; grievous till now have been my sins; I offer my hair in their requital.

2. Pardon its combing and its caring in soft-grassed Eire; I weep over this fair hair, this poor crushed thing (?) offered to Thee.

3. I bequeath to Thee, O God the Father, my hair shorn from its curly head; I should be resigned to this, O God the Father, for it would have withered (in any case) of itself.

4. My hair and the curly hair of my comrade I offer to Thy curling hair and kindly face; (but) neither my fair hair nor his golden locks are fair enough, I think, for Thee.

5. Small is the sacrifice of the shearing of these two heads of hair in fear of the Judgment; yet the two of us this night offer Thee, O Son of Mary, our comely yellow locks.

6. This despoiling of our heads—cruel deed!—the fairer for it shall be made the body which offended Thee, the more beauteous and holier the head, the greyer the eye, the whiter the foot.

7. The brighter shall be the instep and slender body; the smoother the breast like to a bush-blossom; the whiter the foot and brighter the hand that wounded Thee, O dear One.

8. The more gleaming the teeth, the darker the brow, the smoother the face, the comelier the form, the greater the beauty of the curling tresses, the smoother the cheek, the more wavy the hair.

9. For four years till this night has this fresh mass of hair been on me; I will now reap its bending crop; this shall be the requital of my deceitful poems.

Notes

MSS: O'Conor Don's Book, f. 79 (O); 23 G 24 p. 329 (G); F vi 1 p. 184 (F); F ii 4 p. 357 (f). O gives no author's name, GFf prefix the words: "Muireadaċ Albanaċ ccc ar na beannad ag dul ir na bráthraib dó timċeall na bliadna . . ." The Text is O except where otherwise noted.

1 *b* airge GFf. 2 after 4 in GFf *b* a cnioċ GFf *c* gaib l. GFf; ar na búillib O, 'r naċ duillt- GFf. For bráthleaċ *cf* KM Contr. 3 not in O *a* syllable is wanting *c* de a adaig GFf; doṁ GF aoiṁ f. *d* ina. Meaning obscure. 4 *a* mboltra 'r b. O, an boltra ir b. GFf. *b* nduu., mbuig OGFf; 5-8 not in GFf. 7 *b* gile O; an alliteration binding *a* and *b* is required; so also in next stanza. 8 *a* trabha O. 9 The four years may be his time in the Order before receiving Tonsure. *a* óige GFf. *c* beantar GFf. *d* a nóiol GFf; fallfa OGFf; a ḟolt GFf.

IRELAND'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

BY PATRICK J. IRWIN, M.A.

OMITTING such words as ' boreen,' ' colleen,' ' gosoon,' etc., which, however familiar as Anglo-Irish dialect terms, cannot be regarded as naturalized English words, the English Language, as it is now written and spoken, contains fewer than twenty Irish loan-words. Nevertheless, a study of Ireland's contribution to the vocabulary of the English Language is not without interest. In the first place, Irish loan-words now in use do not by any means represent the total Irish contribution to the development of the English language, both literary and colloquial ; for several Irish loans, like other elements in the language, have in the course of time become obsolete, but can be traced by their occurrence in early English literature and in other documents that have come down to us. For the student of history many Irish loan-words, whether obsolete or still extant, have an importance beyond their literary and philological interest ; they are milestones in the history of the social and political relationship between the two countries. The student of word-lore will find a philological curiosity in a small group of words that do not come within the scope of this study ; words originating in Ireland but not in the Irish language, some of considerable antiquity such as ' haggard ' and ' hockey,' some of more recent date such as ' ruction ' and ' boycott.'

In the voluminous philological literature dealing with the growth of the English language the small but interesting Irish element has been neglected except for reference to isolated words of undisputed etymology ; and no collection of Irish loan-words has been made except the incomplete and inaccurate list in the appendix to

Skeat's Etymological Dictionary. Even in the Great Oxford Dictionary, the N.E.D. as it is more conveniently called, the most complete and authoritative work dealing with English etymology, some words of immediate Irish origin are attributed to other sources or described as of unknown etymology.

In view of these omissions it would be interesting to trace the words of Irish origin chronologically as they appeared in the language, but space precludes any more than classifying them according to period and discussing points of interest in connection with individual words. Terms such as 'earliest example,' which must be so often used in a study of this kind, are not meant to be taken as absolute, but true only in as far as recorded by the N.E.D. or discovered independently by the present writer.

The first group of Irish loans belongs to the Old English period, and they appear in English writings before the year 1000. Their introduction may be attributed to the Irish missionaries in Northumbria; for they appear first in Northern documents, and two of them are such as would be often used by a preacher of Christianity. 'Brat,' a cloak (O. Ir. *brat*); 'cros,' a cross (O. Ir. *cros*, from Latin *cruc-*); 'dry,' a wizard, sorcery (O. Ir. *drui*); 'luh,' an arm of the sea, a pool (O. Ir. *loch*) are the only certain examples. Other words in Old English of obvious Celtic origin may be Irish loans, but on phonological grounds it is impossible to prove that they were not borrowed from the Celts of Gaul or Britain.

'Brat,' the earliest recorded example of which occurs in the tenth-century "Lindisfarne Gospels," was regularly used in literary English up to the fifteenth century, occurring for example in Chaucer: "A brat to walken in by daylight." The modern word "brat," a colloquial term of contempt for a child, goes back to the fifteenth century; and some philologists consider it to be the same word as 'brat,' a cloak, but the development in meaning has not been traced.

'Cros' occurs in Old English only in place-names, the native word being 'ród,' modern 'rood,' now used only poetically. After the Norman Conquest the French loan 'croix,' variously spelt 'croise,' 'croix,' 'croige,' was the most usual word in literary writings both in England and Ireland until the fifteenth century, when it was supplanted by "cross."

'Dry,' which belonged to the vocabulary of the two classical writers of Old English prose, Alfred and Aelfric, has not been found in English writings after the 12th century, and is therefore not included in the N.E.D.

'Luh' has had a rather interesting history, which may be thus summarized. In accordance with Middle English sound laws it had diverged considerably from its original pronunciation by the fourteenth century, and was then spelt 'lough.' About this time Irish or Scotch-Gaelic 'loch was again borrowed, but into dialects in which 'lough' was unfamiliar. The modern word is descended from the later loan, which has preserved its Irish pronunciation, except that the open 'ch' sound is pronounced as the stop consonant 'k' by most English speakers; but it has borrowed the spelling of the older form. Were the modern word 'lough' descended from the older form, it would now be pronounced 'luff' or 'low' (as in 'cow').

The second borrowing period extended from the Anglo-Norman Invasion to the accomplishment of the Tudor Plantations, or roughly between 1172 and 1600. Sixteen Irish loans came into the English language, literary or colloquial or both, during this period, and a large number of semi-technical terms which occur in state documents written by Englishmen, but which cannot be described as genuine loans because of their restricted application and the limited class of document in which they were used. The majority of these loans did not come into the English language directly from Irish, but were borrowed from the Anglo-Irish dialect of the colonists. In nearly every case it will be found that these Irish loans

appeared in Anglo-Irish documents before their first recorded use by English writers. The earlier occurrence of words of doubtful origin in Anglo-Irish documents is useful, though not decisive, evidence in deciding whether these words were borrowed from Irish into English or from English into Irish.

The following Irish loans were adopted in English in this period :—'bagle,' a crozier (O. and M. Ir. *bachall*); 'bodrag,' a hostile incursion (M. Ir. *buadrech*=a disturbance); 'bog' (Ir. *bog, bogach*); 'brog,' originally a kind of sandal, sometimes also used of breeches (M. Ir. *broc*=a sandal, Ir. *brog*=a shoe); caddow (*cf.* Mod. Ir. *cadogha*=a wrap, and Mod. Ir. cadogh=a rug); 'caple,' a horse (M. Ir. *capall*); 'cosher,' 'coshery,' a feast, feasting (M. Ir. *cóisir*=feasting); 'falding,' a rough cloth, a mantle of this cloth (M. Ir. *fallaing*=a mantle); 'gallo-glass' (Ir. *galloglagh*); 'gearran,' a gelding, a light horse (Ir. *gearran*=a gelding); 'glibb,' a lock of hair (Ir. *glib*); 'hubbub' (repetition of Irish war-cry, *abú*); 'kerne,' footsoldier (O. Ir. ceitherin=a band of light infantry); 'skene,' a knife (Ir. *scian*); 'trenchmore,' a dance-tune, the dance itself (Ir. *rinnce mor*=the big dance); 'trouse,' earlier form of 'trousers' (Ir. *triubhas*).

Philologists do not agree that all these words were of Irish origin. Before dealing with that point, it is convenient to give a brief account of their history and usage.

'Bagle' existed in English, at any rate in literary English, for more than two hundred years, its earliest appearance being in Robert Brunne (1330) and its latest in Phaer's translation of Vergil's Aeneid (1557). Its supposed Scandinavian origin is dealt with below.

'Bodrag,' apart from its very frequent occurrence in sixteenth century State Papers, must be regarded as at least a literary loan-word in virtue of its use by Spenser in the *Faerie Queene* ("Sundry bordragings of neighbour Scotts") and in *Colin Clout's Come Home Again* ("No nightly bodrags nor no hue and cry"). It is possible that 'bord-

ragings' may not be the same word as 'bodrag'; but the more likely explanation is that Spenser, who was fond of equating Anglo-Irish terms with older English words, made the alteration on the mistaken assumption that he could at once satisfy the exigencies of metre and correct a popular corruption.

'Bog' may have come into the Scottish and northern dialects of English from Scotch-Gaelic, but in the southern dialects and in 'standard English' it came from Irish. Its earliest appearance, according to the N.E.D., was in Dunbar's poems, 1505; but it must have been borrowed into the English dialects of Ireland long before, as it occurs in an early fifteenth-century Anglo-Irish legal document transcribed in the "Gormanstown Register."

'Brogue,' cognate with English 'breeches,' made its first appearance in English writings in Hooker's translation of Cambrensis in Hollinshed. Hooker seems to use 'brog' in the sense 'breeches,' as do one or two other sixteenth century English writers, but Shakespeare uses it in the sense 'shoe' in *Cymbeline*: "and put my clouted brogues from off my feet." 'Brogue' survives in English as the name of a certain type of shoe.

The occurrence of the words 'caddow' and 'falding' in English writings from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century indicates the popularity of Irish cloth and of cloaks and rugs made from it during this period. 'Falding' was used in two senses, as the name for an Irish cloth of rough texture and as the name of a mantle made of this material. The word appears in both senses in Chaucer. The "Shipman" of the *Canterbury Tales* was dressed "in a gowne of falding to the knee." The "Libel of English Policie" of 1436, a political pamphlet in verse advising a more active policy in Ireland, names among Irish products "woolen lynen cloth faldinge." The latest recorded occurrence of the word 'falding' in English documents is in the sense 'mantle'; a Lancashire testator in 1536 declared: "I gyff to Alice Legh my best typete, my

falding and my bok in the church." 'Caddow' as an English word did not make its appearance until the second half of the sixteenth century. All the recorded examples are in business documents, the earliest recorded by the N.E.D. being from a will of 1579.

'Caple,' also spelt 'capell' and 'capil,' occurs in English writings, chiefly in poetry, from the fourteenth to the early seventeenth century, and again after a lapse of two hundred years in Scott. Its earliest appearance in English writings was in an alliterative poem of 1325, but it had appeared some years earlier in an Anglo-Irish dialect poem, *The Land of Cockaigne*: "Horse no capul, cow no ox." Later in the fourteenth century it occurs in Langland's *Piers Plowman*: "Conscience upon his capel carieth forth faste." It occurs twice in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. The drunken Cook's mount was a 'capel,' and line 452 of the "Somnour's" Tale suggests that heavy draught horses were then called 'capels.'

'Cosher,' adopted as an English word in the sixteenth century, at first appeared only in Chronicles of Ireland and State Papers, and always as a technical term for the 'festes which the lord (Anglo-Irish and Irish) useith to take of his tenants after Easter, Christmas, Whitsun and Michaelmas and all other times at his plesure" (Dymok: *Treatise of Ireland*, 1600). Later, with its derivatives 'coshery,' 'coshering,' etc., it was used as a term for a feast of any kind and without reference to Ireland. English writers use the word 'cosher' as late as the second half of the nineteenth century; the latest example quoted in the N.E.D. is from Trollope: "She coshered up Elizabeth with cold fowl and wine."

'Gallowglass' and 'kerne,' now obsolete except as historical terms, were familiar words to the Englishman of the sixteenth century from the reports of the continuous Irish wars. Many Londoners who heard the 'messenger' in Shakespeare's *Henry VI* announce the arrival of "a mighty power of gallowglasses and stout kerns," had

themselves seen such a spectacle in the streets of London; for, apart from their appearing in the retinue of such visitors as Shane O'Neill, there are records of Irish kerns and gallowglasses serving as mercenaries in England from the time of Henry VIII. 'Kern' was apparently one of the first Irish loan-words adopted by the English colonists in Ireland, as is shown by its frequent appearance in early fourteenth-century Anglo-Irish documents. 'Gallowglass' did not appear in Anglo-Irish or English writings until much later. The earliest example recorded by the N.E.D. dates from 1515, but there is an earlier example in a letter written by Sir Henry Wyatt from Dublin in 1496.

'Gearran,' like 'capal,' was probably borrowed very early into Anglo-Irish speech, but it does not occur in documents, Anglo-Irish or English, until the sixteenth century. It evidently, however, became a recognised English word, as it was used by some English writers without reference to Ireland, for example by Holland in his translation of Pliny (1601). Its use in modern North-of-England dialects, as recorded by the English Dialect Dictionary, is probably due to Scottish, not Irish, influence In the Scots dialects of English it was independently borrowed from Scotch Gaelic, but no example earlier than the nineteenth century has been recorded.

'Glibb' is one of the many Irish words so frequently occurring in sixteenth-century State Papers and Chronicles of Ireland. Its occurrence in Spenser's *Faerie Queene*—"with hearie glibb deformed and maigre face"—may have given it more than a temporary currency; for it reappears in a letter written by Robert Southey in 1812: "My hair has escaped cutting . . . and shall be reserved for a glibb till the Spring."

The earliest example of the word 'hubbub' quoted by the N.E.D. dates from 1555 and is spelt 'whobub': "shouting as they go with an Irish whobub." The modern spelling 'hubbub' did not become fixed till the eighteenth century. Although I have found no early

example of the word in documents written by Anglo-Irishmen, it is probable that it existed in the colloquial speech of the Pale and the towns and so became familiar to English officials in Ireland; for it is unlikely that a chance coinage of the word by some English writer would be disseminated so quickly as to provide the many examples in sixteenth and early seventeenth century books. Spenser uses the word in the *Faerie Queene* and in *The Present State of Ireland.* In the latter, both the spelling and the context give a clue to the exact origin of 'hubbub': "with a terrible yell and hubbabow which is the very image of the Irish hubbabowe which their kern use at their first encounter." The N.E.D. suggests that 'hubbub' originated in Gaelic "ub, ub, ub," a term of contempt, or in the Irish war-cry 'abú'; but, in the light of the above quotation from Spenser, it was evidently the repetition of the cry 'abú,' confusing to the uninitiated, which gave rise to the word 'hubbub.'

The word 'shamrock,' sometimes spelt 'shamroot' by early writers, was made familiar to English readers by the many 'descriptions' of Ireland and the Irish that appeared towards the close of the sixteenth century. The earliest occurrence of the word was in Campion's *History of Ireland* in Hollinshed (1571). Most of the early writers refer to 'shamrock' as an edible herb widely used in Ireland as a food. This probably accounts for the spelling 'shamroot.'

'Skene,' also spelt 'skayne,' 'skine,' etc., occurs several times in sixteenth and seventeenth century documents written by Englishmen, usually, but not always, when writing about the Irish kerne who used, in hand-to-hand fighting, a short dagger called a 'scian.' That it came into colloquial use in England, as the name of some kind of dagger or knife, would appear from its occurrence in a will made in 1527: "my black sattyn doublet, my skayne and a paire of black hose." Its colloquial currency may, however, be due to Scottish influence, as 'skene'

was also borrowed into Scots-English from Gaelic. 'Skene' owes its inclusion in modern dictionaries to the fact that it occurs in the writings of Swift, who is mistakenly regarded as a linguistic purist.

'Trouse,' from which was soon developed 'trousers' on the analogy of such plurals as 'tweezers,' 'pincers,' etc., made its first recorded appearance in English writings in 1579. The diphthongal pronunciation instead of the Irish 'ú' sound shows that it had been borrowed much earlier; for had it been borrowed in the sixteenth century the Irish 'ú' sound would have remained unchanged and 'trousers' would be now pronounced 'troosers.' It might be argued that it passed into English from the Anglo-Irish dialect with the diphthongal pronunciation already developed; but this could not have been the case, as the Anglo-Irish dialect of the sixteenth century had preserved the Middle English long 'u,' and there would therefore have been no reason for altering this sound in Irish loans. Probably 'trouse' was adopted from Anglo-Irish in the fifteenth century or earlier. There is evidence that the English colonists in Ireland had adopted both the word and the garment already in the early fourteenth century; for in the "Judiciary Rolls of Ireland, 1306," a 'trues' is named among other articles in larceny proceedings instituted by an English colonist. Although 'trousers' as an English word is of such antiquity, it was not until the nineteenth century that it became recognized as a polite word for the garment of which it is the name.

'Trenchmore,' which was both the name of a dance-tune and of a dance, is not found earlier than the middle of the sixteenth century, but it occurred several times subsequently in sixteenth and seventeenth century writings. Dr. Grattan Flood has identified 'trenchmore' with the Irish 'rinnce fada.' The popularity of Irish music and dances in late sixteenth century England is evidenced by scores of allusions in contemporary writers.

Besides those words which have been just discussed,

several other words of a special type were frequently used in State Correspondence and 'Treatises' of Ireland in the sixteenth century. They are all technical terms connected with the Irish military, social and legal systems of the time and the modifications of them adopted by the Anglo-Irish lords. Those most frequently occurring were :—Bawn, bonnaght also spelt 'bonny,' brehon, cain, coyne, cuddy, eric, slantyacht, tanist. Perfectly familiar terms to the English speakers of the Pale and the towns they were known in England only to readers of the 'Chronicles,' 'Treatises' and 'Discourses' of Ireland, and to the officials who dealt with the State Correspondence. None of them acquired shades of meaning beyond its literal signification, and they are of rare occurrence in writings later than the seventeenth century except in historical works dealing with mediæval and early-modern Ireland.

Before passing from the Irish loans adopted in English in what we have called the second period of borrowing, it is necessary to discuss briefly from an etymological point of view a few of them which are not generally recognized as of Irish origin. The words in question are :—bagle, bodrag, caddow, caple, falding and trenchmore.

The ultimate origin of 'bagle' is Latin 'baculum.' The N.E.D. considers that in English 'bagle' was a loan from Old Norse. If such were the case, the probability is that Old Norse in turn had it from Old Irish ; for the intercourse between the Norsemen and the Irish would suggest that ecclesiastical terms common to their languages were native to that of the latter. That 'bachall' was an Old Irish word we know from its occurrence in *Cormac's Glossary* and in eleventh and twelfth century MSS. It seems, however, more reasonable to consider that English borrowed 'bagle' not immediately from Old Norse, but from Irish *via* the English dialects of Ireland. Though the N.E.D. has no record of the examples, 'bagle,' spelt 'baghell' and 'bahel,' occurs in two of the few surviving pieces of Anglo-Irish literature of 1300-1600 : in

all the fifteenth and sixteenth century MSS. of the *English Conquest of Ireland* and in the *Book of Howth*. This being the case, there is no need to look for an Old Norse source for the English word. This opinion is borne out by the remarks of the Danish scholar, Bjorkman, in his *Scandinavian Loan-words in Middle English*: "Baghell is not from Old West Scandinavian, as assumed by the N.E.D. It seems more probable that the Scandinavian word is from English, or that they are both from Irish."

'Bodrag' is given in *Halliwell and Nares' Glossary* as an abbreviated form of 'border-ragings.' This opinion is apparently influenced by the spelling of the word in the *Faerie Queene* to which we have already referred. As the word occurs nowhere in purely English writings except in the *Faerie Queene* and *Colin Clout* (and in the latter it is in reference to Spenser's life in Ireland), while it is used scores of times by English and Anglo-Irish officials writing of Ireland, it is more reasonable to assume, as does the N.E.D., that it was a corruption of some Irish word. The N.E.D. suggests Ir. 'buaidreadh,' but Middle Ir. 'buadrech' is perhaps nearer in pronunciation.

'Caddow' is apparently not recorded in Old or Middle Irish glossaries. Its occurrence in Mod. Ir. (Dineen's Dictionary) is no proof of its having been originally an Irish word, as it might have been a loan from English. The N.E.D. describes 'caddow' as of obscure origin and not connected with Ir. 'cadas,' cotton. There are, however, the following reasons for considering it as an Irish word.

(1) The article for which it was the name was largely of Irish manufacture: nearly all the examples of the word given by the N.E.D. and other dictionaries, as well as those found by the present writer, are prefixed by the adjective "Irish."

(2) Caddows were exported from Ireland to England in the sixteenth century (Longfield's *Anglo-Irish Trade in the Sixteenth Century*).

(3) The word occurs in Anglo-Irish documents a little

earlier than in English documents: it occurs in a Cork 'inventory' of 1570 (Canfield's *Council Book of Cork*), while the earliest example in N.E.D. dates from 1579.

(4) Caddows being Irish-made articles, we would expect them to have an Irish name, and that this Irish name would sometimes be used in Anglo-Irish documents, as 'falaing' was used for 'mantle' and 'breidín' for 'frieze.' As 'caddow' is the only term used, it would seem as if 'caddow' was an Irish word.

(5) Lastly there is its occurrence in Mod. Irish.

Relying on Windisch's statement that 'capall' did not occur in Old Irish, the N.E.D. does not regard the English word 'caple' as an Irish loan-word, but is unable to suggest the intermediate source between Latin 'caballus' and English 'caple.' The Scandinavian 'kapall' is unlikely to be the medium, as it was a rare word, confined to ecclesiastical documents. Windisch's statement by no means disproves an Irish origin for English 'caple.' The obvious explanation that it came from Irish through the medium of the Anglo-Irish dialect is probably the correct one. 'Capall,' if not an Old Irish word, was used at least as early as the eleventh century: it occurs in the *Leabhar na Huidre* and the *Annals of Tigearnach*. In English its earliest recorded appearance was in an alliterative poem of 1330; but it had already appeared in the Anglo-Irish *Land of Cockaigne*, which dates from about 1300, certainly not later than 1315. Its subsequent history in English and Anglo-Irish writings is also enlightening. In English it was chiefly a poetical word: nearly all the recorded examples are from verse. In Anglo-Irish it was of very frequent occurrence, and was apparently the common term for a certain type of horse. Except for its earliest appearance, it occurs in documents of the most prosaic and business-like type: for example, in the will of Sir Christopher Plunket, 1463; in a lease of 1540 preserved in the register of All Saints' Church; in an entry in the Galway Town Book,

1558. If we do not accept the obvious assumption that English borrowed 'caple' from Irish through the medium of the Anglo-Irish dialect, we must arrive at the unlikely conclusion that the English colonists in Ireland continued to use for four hundred years, as an every-day term, a word which their ancestors had brought from England, but which was not recorded as an English word for more than a hundred years after the colonization and which was scarcely used in England outside verse.

No etymology has been suggested for the word 'falding,' not even by the N.E.D. Its similarity in sound and meaning with Ir. 'fallaing' suggests that 'falding' was a corruption of the Irish word. The intrusion of the 'd' can be explained phonetically, and there are many parallels, *e.g.*, 'alder tree,' originally 'aler-tree,' and Middle English 'alder-best,' originally 'aller-best'=best of all. The earliest occurrence of the word 'falling' is in the Latinized form 'phalynga' in Cambrensis' *Topographia Hibernica*, as a name for the cloak or mantle worn by the Irish. As 'phalynga' the word appears in several early fourteenth-century Anglo-Irish documents written in Latin and French, but in others as 'fallyng' or 'fallaing.' If 'falding' and 'fallaing' are not considered as identical, then we must make the unlikely assumption that there were two distinct articles of apparel, a fallaing and a falding; for the *Libel of English Policie* names 'falding' as an Irish product and Poynings' Act of 1498 forbids Irish merchants to wear "hukes and faldings."

The N.E.D. suggests that the word 'trenchmore' originated in a place or family name. Dr. Flood's identification of this word with Ir. 'rinnce mór' seems a more satisfactory explanation, but his claim that English 'dump,' 'a melancholy tune,' is a corruption of Irish 'tiompan' can hardly be justified either on phonetic grounds or on similarity in meaning. The chief difficulty in deriving 'trenchmore' from 'rinnce mór' is phonological, the initial 't,' but this may be explained as

originally the definite article. Examples of the definite and indefinite articles and other monosyllables becoming part of the succeeding word are not uncommon, *e.g.*, 'newt,' 'the ton and the tother' (dialect) and 'tawdry' (from St. Audrey). As 'tr' and 'thr' would have been pronounced in the Anglo-Irish dialect almost similarly, the confusion would have been the easier.

In studying the Irish loan words adopted in English from the Anglo-Norman invasion to the end of the sixteenth century, it is easy to make a clear distinction between the many Irish loans confined to the English dialects of Ireland and the few which may be regarded as naturalized English words in virtue of their general adoption or of the 'honorary citizenship' conferred upon them by individual writers of note. The Irish loans adopted from 1600 to the present day do not fall into such clearly defined groups. Irish writers in English use a large number of Irish loans which no English writer would use without inverted commas and would hardly use at all except in reference to Ireland. Anglo-Irish literature, however, has made many of these perfectly familiar to readers outside Ireland, and perhaps they should be described as literary loans. There are others such as, for example, 'bannshee,' 'rapparee,' 'shebeen,' for which there is no near synonym in English and which have sometimes been used of similar characters and institutions in other countries. These, too, should perhaps be described as loan-words; but this article has space to discuss only those Irish loans which have been used by English writers without any dialect significance.

Since 1600 the following Irish loan-words have become part of the English language: 'blarney,' 'galore,' 'ogham,' 'orrery,' 'tory,' 'whiskey.' A seventh word, 'bonnyclabber,' now obsolete, had some vogue in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

'Blarney' and 'orrery' originated in place-names; the former is too well known to discuss further than to

note that its first recorded appearance was in 1801, and that Maria Edgeworth's novels and plays popularized it in England. John Rowley, a mechanic, was responsible for introducing the word 'orrery.' In 1713 he made a copy of an astronomical machine, which had been invented in 1700, for Lord Orrery. He gave the machine his patron's name, and the word has not been superseded.

The earliest occurrence of the word 'ogham' was in Conal McGeoghan's translation of the *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, 1627; but McGeoghan used the term 'ogham' not of writing but of speech: "the speech which in Irish is called ogham." As applied to writing, it appeared for the first time in an English work in 1729.

The Irish word 'toraidhe,' a pursuer, was the usual term in seventeenth century Ireland for the free-lance soldiers who harassed the planters on confiscated lands. The N.E.D. has no record of its occurrence in English or Anglo-Irish documents before 1646, but it must have been a familiar term in England long before; for in the play, *The Welsh Embassador*, of 1623, the 'clown' of the piece says to a character Edmond who is disguised as an Irishman, "I hugg thee sweet Tory." In 1680, partly because the Duke was supposed to favour Irishmen, 'tory' was given as a nickname to those who opposed the exclusion of the future James II from the throne. This was its origin as the name of one of the English political parties.

The earliest example of the word 'whiskey' recorded by the N.E.D. is from a Scottish Miscellany of 1715. It was not then however a new loan-word, but a shortening of the compound 'uisgebagh' or 'uiscebath' which English writers had been using for more than a hundred years and continued to use till the end of the eighteenth century. Though the earliest recorded example of the shortened form 'whiskey' occurred in a Scottish writer, it was not exclusively a Scottish formation: for it was in vogue also in Ireland in the early eighteenth century.

In Swift's *Hibernian Dialogue* 'whiskey' is included among many Irish and Anglo-Irish terms which he quoted as typical Irish vulgarisms.

'Galore' is recorded as used by Scottish writers as early as 1675, but as a colloquial term in English it owes its origin to its occurrence as a stock example of Anglo-Irish vocabulary in eighteenth century plays and novels.

'Bonnyclabber,' also spelt 'bonnyclabbo' and 'bonny-clapper' (from Ir. *bainne clabach*=sour milk), is frequently mentioned in seventeenth century letters, diaries and plays as one of the staple foods of the Irish. The earliest example given by the N.E.D. is from Ben Jonson's *New Inn* of 1631, but there is an earlier occurrence in *The Welsh Embassador* of 1623. Jonson couples 'bonny-clapper' with 'balderdash,' which had not then the significance it has now: "to drink balderdash or bonny-clapper." The examples of the word 'bonnyclabber' given by the N.E.D. show that, from being a comic term associated with the stage Irishman, it came to be a recognised English word used without reference to Ireland.

We have now completed a list of Irish loan-words which have been at any time recognised as English words in the colloquial or literary language. This brief survey of Ireland's contribution to the vocabulary of the English Language, like all new collections of loan-words, has probably omitted some examples. Many, which it might be supposed should be included, have been omitted on the grounds that, though used by an occasional English writer without reference to Ireland or included in English dictionaries, they cannot be regarded as ever having been naturalized English words in the strict sense. For example, the modern 'rath,' 'cott' (a boat), which was a common Anglo-Irish word in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and 'stocah' (an attendant), which was included in Johnson's Dictionary, have not been considered to come within the scope of this article.

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BISHOP EDMUND BURKE

First Vicar-Apostolic of Nova Scotia

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IN the early days of the summer of 1786 a young Irish priest destined to play an important part in the ecclesiastical history of British North America landed at Quebec, "friendless and moneyless, a stranger and unknown." Thus the Rev. Edmund Burke, later Bishop of Zion and first Vicar-Apostolic of Nova Scotia, describes himself.

Born in the parish of Marlborough, near Hophall, County Kildare, in 1753, Edmund Burke was educated and ordained in Paris. After his ordination he returned to Ireland and became a curate in the Diocese of Kildare and Leighlin, later becoming parish priest of Kildare. He seems to have unduly meddled in the discussions that arose on the occasion of the appointment of Dr. Delaney as coadjutor of the Bishop, and in consequence he was advised by Dr. Carpenter, Archbishop of Dublin, to seek a mission elsewhere. He decided to cross the Atlantic. A promising field of usefulness having presented itself, Edmund Burke readily embraced it. Bishop D'Esglis of Quebec, who was sorely in need of English-speaking priests, had requested Dr. Butler of Cork to procure him desirable subjects. "If you send us priests," he wrote, "they will not be too many if they wish to consecrate themselves to the service of youth in the Seminary of Quebec. For this employment it would be necessary to know French or have facility in learning it."[1]

Five priests came to the Diocese of Quebec as the result of this appeal, among them Father Burke, who reached

[1] Archives de l'Évêché de Quebec (cited hereinafter as AEQ). Letter from Bishop D'Esglis to Bishop Butler, October 26, 1785.

Quebec in September, 1786. Writing to the abbé Hussey, his ecclesiastical agent in London, Bishop D'Esglis says: "I have received with gratitude the abbés Burke and McDonnell, whom you have had the kindness to send me. I have paid the passage of the former, as you suggested. He is staying at the seminary to teach philosophy. The other will probably go to Cataroqui, where his Scottish troop are going to settle."[1]

Father Burke began teaching at the Seminary of Quebec on October 1, 1786; but the monotonous life of the institution seems to have irked him after a while, and he desired a wider field for his activities. Accordingly, he planned to give a course of public lectures in the city; but he was debarred by English officials, despite the fact that he was on "excellent terms" with the Governor-General, Lord Dorchester. Writing to Dr. Troy, Archbishop of Dublin, on October 20, 1790, Father Burke says:—

> The Governor-General will not permit me to give a public lecture within the City of Quebec; and the Bishop in title will not permit me to leave town . . . . . The coadjutor, an able politician, will not hear of my leaving, because he intends to place me as professor of astronomy in a university of which the charter is this instant being made out in the Council. I need not tell Your Grace that it is not the business of a clergyman . . . . . There is a vast country north of the lakes, beginning at Lake Ontario and running westward to the Pacific Ocean, possessed or claimed by England, in which, though there are a great number of posts and several Indian villages whose inhabitants are Catholics, there is not nor has there been a single missionary since the conquest of this province . . . . . I have been so cautious in my political conduct since my arrival in Quebec that I have at length set all prejudices aside, and I am on the best terms with the Governor and all the general officers, so that I can obtain a passport when I please, and permission to establish a mission in whatever quarter I please. I have no doubt of being able to obtain a pension from the government for the support of a missionary. Let me, therefore, request that you will, My Lord, graciously please to write to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda

[1] *ibid*, D'Esglis to Hussey, September 19, 1786.

to obtain a mission for me in that region ; and as the sacrament of Confirmation was never administered to those poor Catholics, a power of administering that sacrament would be of infinite use.[1]

To understand what the university alluded to really meant, we must make a short excursus into the politico-religious situation that then prevailed at Quebec :—

The Church of Canada was then going through one of the most critical periods of its existence. England was at the time seeking more than ever to put into execution the project to Protestantize the Canadians. To this end the Governors had received secret instructions that are known to-day, and whose purport was to corrupt the clergy in order to belittle them and cause them to lose their influence with the people. The Government attempted to become supreme in ecclesiastical affairs, and sought to arrogate to itself the right of nominating parish priests. which meant the placing of its own creatures in the most important positions . . . . . In 1789 a snare was set, and it was most skillfully contrived. Under the pretext of promoting public instruction a proposal was made to establish a university that should be half Protestant and half Catholic . . . . . The Protestants, however, should control the university. Mgr. Hubert (Bishop of Quebec) opposed the project most vigorously.[2]

The most unfortunate episode in the history of this hybrid institution seems to have been that Mgr. Bailly (Coadjutor of Quebec) was allied with the opponents of Bishop Hubert. Though the priests and the majority of the Catholic laity espoused the cause of the Bishop, Father Burke was in the opposing camp. " The clergy *en masse* as well as the people sided with their Bishop, consoled him in his grief, and pledged him their aid. A prominent priest, who should have been one of the first to take sides with the Bishop, failed to do so : this was the abbé Burke. . . . He wished to ingratiate himself with the Governor, and paid court to him, but did not break with the Bishop, who might have ruined his career."[3]

[1] Cited by O'Brien, *Memoirs of Bishop Burke*, p. 9 (Ottawa, 1894).

[2] *Mémoire sur les Missions de la Nouvelle-Ecosse, du Cap Bréton et de l'Ile du Prince Edouard, de* 1760 *à* 1820, *d'après les Archives de l'Archevêché de Quebec et de la Propagande de Rome*, p. 97. (Quebec, 1895), cited hereafter as MM.

[3] *ibid.*

The miscarriage of this affair of the " mixed " establishment presumably chagrined Father Burke, and it reawakened the desire to leave Quebec to establish a mission in the West, of which he had previously written to Archbishop Troy. Apparently Dr. Troy had submitted the matter to the Congregation of the Propaganda; but no action was taken at the time. The Sacred Congregation consulted Bishop Hubert on the project, as it desired more information regarding its feasibility. Presumably the Congregation was fully aware of the lamentable failure of Father Didier's attempt to establish a colony in northern Ohio. This ecclesiastical venture was one of the most extraordinary episodes in the ecclesiastical history of the United States.[1]

Having failed in his plan to proceed immediately to the West as a missionary-apostolic, Father Burke wrote to Bishop Carroll, recently appointed to the see of Baltimore. The latter communicated with Bishop Hubert, who replied: " If Mr. Burke manifests a desire to withdraw to another diocese, I will not oppose his going, and I shall give him an *Exeat* whenever he asks for it."[2] Meanwhile Bishop Hubert had appointed Father Burke to the parish of St. Pierre d'Orléans, and he remained there from September 1791 to the autumn of 1794. But shortly after this appointment Bishop Hubert received a document from Cardinelli, Prefect of the Propaganda, informing him that Father Burke desired to be appointed to a mission in the West. To this the Bishop replied :—

> Edmund Burke, an Irishman on whose behalf the Archbishop of Dublin wrote to the Sacred Congregation, is a learned priest, firm in faith and regular in conduct. He has taught with success two courses of philosophy in the Seminary, of which he was one of the directors . . . . . Tired of being at the Seminary, he recently asked me for a parish in the diocese, which I gladly gave him. I do not think he will keep it long, owing to a certain inconstancy that has been remarked in him. His plan to labour

[1] See Kenny, art. " Gallipolis," in *Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. IV., pp. 415-50.
[2] AEQ, Hubert à Carroll, June 24, 1792.

in the Northwest of North America is the vision of a person who is unfamiliar with the country. This section, largely uncivilized, is not coveted by anybody. It is even difficult to say to what power the country belongs . . . . . Before I became bishop I spent four years in Detroit as Vicar-General of the Bishop of Quebec. While there, I learned a great deal of these upper regions, and I might have been appointed their first missionary if the futility of such an undertaking had not been made clear to me. Furthermore, if Mr. Burke persists in the desire to labor in America, it would not be impossible to place him in a new establishment which is now in course of development beyond Detroit. Should it be practicable to establish a Vicariate-Apostolic there later on, without giving umbrage to the English Government, I shall be the first to solicit it for him.[1]

Father Burke was presumably cognizant of Bishop Hubert's plan; he remained at St. Pierre d'Orleans until two years later. But he was evidently discontented there, for writing to Father Plessis, *curé* of Quebec and later Bishop, he says (May 30, 1794): "*Je m'ennuie à la mort,*" and informs Fr. Plessis that he was about to resign his charge. This Father Burke did a few months later. After he had resigned, he was appointed parish priest of Rivière-aux-Raisins (now Monroe City), some sixty miles from Detroit. The appointment came thuswise:—John Graves Simcoe, Governor of Upper Canada, which had become a political entity by the Constitutional Act (1791), expressed a desire to Bishop Hubert that a priest should be sent to that section for *political* reasons: he no doubt realized that the presence of a Catholic missionary in Upper Canada would be more helpful in preserving order there than a regiment of soldiers. Simcoe was a Loyalist soldier who had fought against the United States during the War for Independence, and had been with Cornwallis when the latter surrendered at Yorktown. Presumably the Canadian governorship was a reward for his services. In response to Simcoe's request a missionary, in the person of Father Edmund Burke, was sent: he was vested with the power

[1] *ibid*, Hubert à Antonelli, October 25, 1791.

of Vicar-General. Yet the Bishop "was apprehensive of the success of the mission, fearing, in view of Fr. Burke's antecedents, that he would not remain long there or be a messenger of peace."[1]

Father Burke set out from Quebec for his mission at the end of September 1794, and made his first ecclesiastical halt at Catarakoui (Kingston). Writing to Bishop Hubert, on October 14, he informs the latter that he had "arranged" for Father McDonnell of St. Regis to visit Kingston twice a year until a regular missionary should be established there.[2] From Kingston Father Burke proceeded to Niagara for a conference with Governor Simcoe. At a later date we shall find Fr. Burke again at Niagara "to attend the sessions of parliament in the interests of the Church. Simcoe's interest in a Catholic missionary was apparently somewhat mercenary, as in addition to the reason quoted above, he desired to hold the Indians in the vicinity of Detroit in submission and, if possible, to retain them within the British jurisdiction. This seems to be indicated by the following excerpt of a letter cited by the author of *Memoirs of Bishop Burke*: "In the year 1794 Governor Simcoe wrote to Lord Dorchester, Governor-General, that he much desired that a priest, loyal to the king and of proved fidelity, might be sent to Raisin River, on the west of Lake Erie, to instruct the people in morality and their duty towards the king. The Bishop of Quebec, desirous of meeting the wishes of the Governor, appointed me."[3]

The mission to which Father Burke had been appointed (Raisin River) included a section of Ohio, lying along the Maumee River, where there was an English garrison; this was an outpost of the parish. Thus Father Burke was the first English-speaking priest to labour in north-western

[1] MM, p. 104.

[2] Tanguay, *Répertoire du Clergé Canadien*, p. 133, says: "McDonnell, Joachim-Roderic, arrivé en Juin 1784, missionnaire à Saint-Régis, où il décède le 25 août, agè 50 ans."

[3] Letter of Father Burke to Cardinal Antonelli, in the Halifax Archives.

Ohio; but "Burke's labours, like those of his predecessors, were of short duration, ceasing with the withdrawal of the British forces, which he accompanied into Canada."[1] At Raisin River Father Burke found an unpretentious church and a primitive residence. Writing to Archbishop Troy, February 2, 1795, he says:—

> I am in the administration of Upper Canada, with every episcopal power except what requires the episcopal order; yet I find a great want of power, for here the limits are unsettled. The very parish in which I live may be a subject of dispute between the Bishop of Baltimore and the Bishop of Quebec, though it be distant 400 or 500 leagues from either. That gives me great uneasiness. I know no jurisdiction certain but that of His Holiness; besides Confirmation is a sacrament totally unknown here, in a country where there are some thousands of Catholics.

From another letter, written from Detroit, May 20, 1795, we learn much regarding the "difficulties" that Fr. Burke experienced. Writing of the machinations of certain *sans culottes*, he adds: "I never walk out but in company, and am always armed. . . . I have lived entirely at the expense of the Government and under its protection." The difficulties alluded to were largely political, and were presumably a consequence of the Jay-Grenville Arrangement—or, as it is known officially, the Treaty of London—by which it was definitely prescribed that all forts held by Great Britain on the North-west frontier should be evacuated by the British. As a result, Raisin River and Detroit passed from Great Britain politically, and ecclesiastically came under the jurisdiction of Bishop Carroll. The Bishop found it difficult to provide priests for these missions, and he appealed to Bishop Hubert, asking leave to retain the priests of the Diocese of Quebec who had hitherto attended Detroit, Raisin River, and Mackinac. Bishop Hubert was unable to spare any priests for missions that did not belong to his

[1] O'Daniel, "The Centenary of Ohio's Oldest Catholic Church," in *Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. IV., p. 20.

diocese. The text of Bishop Carroll's appeal to Bishop Hubert runs : " I feel keenly the loss which these parishes will sustain in being deprived of the zealous and experienced pastors you have given them. . . . I do not think any difficulty will be raised by the government of the United States, unless in the case of Rev. Mr. Burke. . . ."[1]

Father Burke's pastorate at Raisin River was most exciting, even turbulent ; and he was unwilling to remain in that region or to accept the mission at Detroit. Writing to Bishop Hubert, November 5, 1795, he says : " I cannot accept the mission of Detroit, for Your Lordship can readily understand that such a step would be a great displeasure to the government from whom I have received every mark of goodwill, and would engender a well-founded distrust of a clergyman, which might have regrettable consequences."[2] In this connection O'Brien writes :—

> Father Burke was most loyal to the English Government, although he was ever ready to oppose and set at naught any attempts which it might make, either openly or covertly, against his faith. He had a wholesome old time dislike, too, for revolutionary methods, and was shocked to learn that the new pastor of Detroit had eulogized Washington one Sunday from the pulpit. Such a man could not remain west of the Detroit River ; he followed the British flag to its eastern bank in the summer of 1796.[3]

Father Burke returned to Quebec ; but he was soon back again in Upper Canada. On Oct. 25, 1796, he writes from Kingston to Bishop Hubert : " My Lord, here I am after almost endless delays at Chippawa. I had the good fortune to obtain a large lot at Niagara and another at York [Toronto], two permanent establishments. . . . I have not yet drawn my large lot of land, as I am waiting until the location of the Capital shall have been decided

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[1] Complete text in Shea, *Life and Times of John Carroll*, p. 479 (New York, 1888).

[2] AEQ, Cahier " Detroit," 1795.

[3] *op. cit.*, p. 27.

upon." There was evidently no permanency in the locations; and though Fr. Burke has the distinction of being the first Irish priest to labour in Upper Canada, the recognized founder of an English-speaking ecclesiastical establishment there was the Rt. Rev. Alexander McDonnell, a native of Scotland, who arrived in Canada in July 1803. Singularly enough, the first bishop of York (Toronto) was Dr. Michael Power, a native of Halifax, Nova Scotia, who must have in his early years been a pupil in the school which it appears Dr. Edmund Burke had established while Vicar-Apostolic of Nova Scotia. The see of Toronto was established in 1841; and its cathedral (St. Michael's) recently celebrated its eighty-eighth anniversary.

We find Father Burke at Quebec again in 1797; and in August of that year he informs Archbishop Troy that the recall of Lord Dorchester was a severe blow, and he adds: "I am forced to tell you that the poor Irish and Scotch, though numerous, are totally neglected by the Canadian clergy"; and in the same missive he utters one of his unfortunate strictures upon the Canadian clergy whom he unblushingly terms "a handful of the most ignorant and most impudent fellows that I ever knew." Whilst in Quebec he felt constrained to send another Memorial to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, in which he proposed a new delimitation of the Diocese of Quebec. Returning again to Upper Canada, he continued to exercise the ministry at Kingston, York, Niagara, and elsewhere, and during those years he met with serious tribulations. His biographer says: "In the semi-military state of society then existing in Ontario, there were many abuses. Against these Father Burke waged unceasing war and endeavoured to stem the tide of evil. But the just man is not free from trials nor safe from calumny. In the spring of 1801, when on account of ague (from which he occasionally suffered) he was meditating a trip to Quebec, he had to endure the mortification of false accusations, the base-

lessness of which he was able to show. At the end of May he arrived in Montreal."[1]

After a brief rest in Quebec, whither he had come from Montreal, Father Burke was appointed by the Bishop of Quebec to a new field of labour, and in September, 1801, he left the "Rock City" for Halifax, Nova Scotia, of which he was to become the first Vicar-Apostolic.

Catholicism in Nova Scotia (formerly known as Acadia) dates from 1604, when De Monts founded Port Royal (now Annapolis). Its first apostles were Fr. Nicholas Aubry and another priest, whose name has not come down to us. A third secular priest, Fr. Jesse Fléché, was at Port Royal in 1610, and he baptized Membertou, the Micmac chief, and several members of the Micmac (Souriquois) tribe; these were, as far as I am aware, the first aborigines to adopt Christianity in any section of America north of the Rio Grande.

Two Jesuits, Fathers Biard and Massé, came to Acadia in 1611; and a third, Father Quentin, accompanied by a lay-brother, arrived in 1613. All four moved from Port Royal to Mount Desert Island and established the Mission of Saint-Sauveur. This was destroyed, shortly after its erection, by Captain Samuel Argall acting under instructions from Sir Thomas Dale, Governor of Virginia. Brother Du Thet was killed, and the Fathers suffered horrible indignities. They were then transported, and finally found their way back to France, only to appear again at a later date on the Mission in Canada.

Franciscan missionaries (Recollects), from the Province of Aquitaine, came to Acadia in 1619. Their chief mission was on the St. John River. Later came the Capuchins (1633), who had been sent from France by Cardinal Richelieu. They opened a school for white and Indian children at Port Royal, two years before the great institution known as Harvard College was begun.

Halifax, now the capital of Nova Scotia, was founded

[1] *ibid*, p. 42.

in 1749, and soon became the chief stronghold of England-in-America. From earliest days the sinister influence of arrogant Anglicanism was visible, and Catholicism was banned as it had been elsewhere in the English colonies. In 1750 the Government at Halifax attempted to provide for the " well-being " of the Province of Nova Scotia by the issuance of an edict euphoniously called a " Regulation to confirm titles in land." This was in fact a *penal* enactment against Catholics, and its second section reads: " Provided that no Papist hereafter shall have any right to hold, possess, or enjoy any lands in tenements other than by virtue of a grant or grants from the Crown, but that all deeds or wills hereafter made, conveying lands in tenements to any Papist or in trust for any Papist, shall be utterly null and void."[1] At a somewhat later date the Government of Nova Scotia passed an Act " for suppressing popery."

Yet despite these enactments Catholics multiplied in the Province, and during the latter half of the eighteenth century many Irish people found their way to Nova Scotia, in addition to several contingents from the Highlands of Scotland. It is not definitely known when Irishmen first came to Nova Scotia; but by 1750 some " substantial Irishmen " were to be found in Halifax. Within the next quarter of a century they were an important factor in the community. In 1783 they were sufficiently important to assert themselves and to demand rights from which they had hitherto been debarred. In that year William Meany, John Cody, James Kavanagh, John Mullowney, and John Murphy, " acting on behalf of themselves and others, His Majesty's natural born subjects, professing the Roman Catholic religion in this Province," addressed a petition to Governor Hammond, asking for a repeal of, or an amendment to, the General Statutes. As a result, many of the obnoxious " Regulations " were repealed. Within a short time a place of worship was erected, soon to be followed by the building of a modest parish house.

[1] Laws of Nova Scotia, Vol. I., cited by O'Brien.

Application was then made to the Bishop of Cork for a priest, and there came to Halifax in the summer of the same year the Franciscan Father Jones. In September Fr. Jones announced his arrival to the Bishop of Quebec, and sent him credentials from the Bishop of Cork. In replying to the letter of Fr. Jones, Bishop D'Esglis "blesses the mercy of God towards the good Catholics of Halifax in giving them a priest according to their desires." Fr. Jones laboured for fifteen years on the mission at Halifax and then returned to Ireland. After his departure there came to Nova Scotia a Dominican, Fr. Edmund Burke, a native of Tipperary, who had spent some years on the Newfoundland mission.[1]

Fr. Edmund Burke, the subject of this article, came to Nova Scotia in 1801, and on October 3 he performed his first official act—the baptism of Anne, daughter of Edward Ford and Mary Lynch. Ecclesiastical affairs in Halifax at the time seem to have been somewhat disturbed owing to difficulties that apparently had grown out of a mitigated form of the trusteeism—an abuse which, during the period, was causing such havoc to the Church elsewhere in America: groups of laymen were arrogating to themselves rights that were exclusively pastoral. Writing to the Bishop of Quebec, January 16, 1802, Fr. Burke, now Vicar-General of Nova Scotia, says: "Do not imagine, my Lord, that any great effort was required to restore order. . . . It is true that in the beginning they complained bitterly. I was deaf to this and had only one answer for all—*viz.*, that the Bishop had not sent me here to listen to complaints nor to obtain information regarding the conduct of anyone, but to cause the laws and discipline of the Church to be observed in the diocese." Synchronous with this was an address to the Bishop of Quebec by a

[1] Fr. Burke came to Newfoundland two years after the arrival in Newfoundland of Dr. James Louis O'Donel (1784). He built the old presbytery and chapel at Placentia. "He left for Halifax in 1798, the year of the Irish rebellion, for fear of English vengeance, as he was in some way implicated in that historical event. He was a nephew of Fr. Sheehan, who was beheaded in Clonmel for croppyism." (Howley, *Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland*, p. 183).

Committee of Catholic laymen of Halifax, which concludes: "With pleasure we inform your Lordship that through the mercy of God all dissensions are done away with, peace and harmony are restored. We have now to hope and request a continuance of your fatherly care, and we shall consider as a signal mark of condescension the visit which your Lordship has given us some reason to expect in the course of the next summer."[1]

After straightening the ecclesiastical "kinks" in Halifax, Fr. Burke undertook to establish a "college," and he writes to Dr. Plessis, the Coadjutor of Quebec, January 16, 1802: "Here is something we are working at quietly: there is a great desire to establish a Catholic school. The need is a pressing one . . . . . There are sufficient means to guarantee success, if we could succeed in having repealed the infamous laws which forbid Catholic schools." Some months later he again writes to Dr. Plessis: "Our college is being built quite expeditiously." One difficulty regarding the college was inability to secure teachers. Fr. Burke appealed to the Archbishop of Dublin and to other Bishops in Ireland; but they were unable to aid him. Another difficulty came from the Governor of Nova Scotia, who wrote (Sept. 1802) to Lord Hobart, Secretary of State for the Colonies:—

> The contributions expected having failed and, I believe, suspecting that a public literary institution for educating youth in this Province, wholly to be governed by a priesthood residing in Canada and not subject to the visitation or the control of H.M. Government or of the established church of England, could not be countenanced or permitted, he [Fr. Burke] has in some degree changed the plan and is erecting a large building for charitable education of youth of their own church . . . . . I have notified Mr. Burke that no school or seminary of education could be exercised in this Province, but such as were conformable to the laws of England and of this Province.[2]

Fr. Burke's college did not materialise, and other difficulties arose; for, in addition to the educational plan, Fr.

[1] *Memoirs of Bishop Burke*, p. 74. [2] *op. cit*, p. 83, footnote.

Burke had become immersed in controversial matters. This policy does not seem to have had the approbation of his ecclesiastical superior, nor did it meet the approval of that eminent and much-beloved neighbour, Bishop O'Donel of Newfoundland. Writing to the Bishop of Quebec, July 2, 1804, Dr. O'Donel says: "*Ad quem ergo finem talia scripsit*? . . . The Rev. Mr. Burke thought he could not be very well known without lighting the fires of controversy in the wilds of Nova Scotia. . . . A small spark consumes more in one day than thousands can repair in twenty years."[1]

Despite his difficulties and apart from this controversial episode, Fr. Burke did commendable work in Nova Scotia during the decade that followed, and this is evidenced by Bishop Plessis, who visited Halifax in the summer of 1815, and wrote in his *Diary*:—

> In the midst of this crowd of sects (Anglicans, Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, and others) the Catholic religion is conspicuous by its unity and by the general esteem in which its adherents are held . . . . . Merchants, many of whom have compact fortunes, workmen, farmers, and domestics compose the Catholic Church in Halifax. If it is not conspicuous by the rank which its children hold in the world, it is so by their fervor and the docility of their faith . . . . . Besides those who are Irish either by birth or origin, and these form the majority of the parish, there are persons of different nationalities, some domiciled, others migratory . . . .

Shortly after Bishop Plessis' pastoral visitation of Nova Scotia, Fr. Burke decided to revisit his native land, and arrived in Cork on August 16, 1815. After a brief sojourn in Ireland, he proceeded to London, where he remained some time. Whilst there he addressed a Memorial to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda on the ecclesiastical situation in British North America, and suggested the erection of two or more dioceses in Lower Canada. Regarding Upper Canada, with which he had been identified before coming to the Maritime Provinces,

[1] AEQ, Carton "Terre Neuve," 1804.

he suggested that it be divided into two or three Prefectures-Apostolic, and that the Prefect-Apostolic of Kingston should be " Scotch, or English, or Irish ; preferably a Scotchman, as the greater number of inhabitants are of Scottish descent." He also suggested that Prefectures should be established in the Maritime Provinces.

After his sojourn in England, Fr. Burke went to Rome, where he remained a considerably long time ; during his tarry there he issued another Report on the state of religion in the Maritime Provinces. He bemoans the ecclesiastical situation in the Provinces and laments the concomitant evils, one of which was the lack of priests : " Against all these evils there is only one remedy, that is, to withdraw the above Maritime Provinces from the spiritual jurisdiction of Quebec. . . . It is, therefore, an absolute necessity for the good of religion to erect these Provinces into Prefectures immediately subject to the Holy See." The result of this Report may be seen in the following decision of the Propaganda :—

> In the general session of the Sacred Congregation of December 11, 1815, the dismemberment of Nova Scotia from the too extensive Diocese of Quebec, for the very solid reasons brought forward by the Priest Edmund Burke, Vicar-General of Quebec at Halifax, and the erection of Nova Scotia into a Vicariate Apostolic, and to constitute the same Burke, who has so well deserved of these Missions, a Vicar with title and episcopal character, was resolved on, provided the Bishop of Quebec should consent thereto. For this purpose a letter was written to that Prelate on April 16, 1816, notifying him of the resolution taken and asking him if he were satisfied with this dismemberment, as he had several times said he was not able to bear the burden of such a vast Diocese and that it was altogether necessary to effect a division. This letter was consigned to Mr. Burke.[1]

After Fr. Burke had presented this letter to Bishop Plessis, the latter replied : " I shall most willingly subscribe to the project of the Sacred Congregation . . . and

[1] Propaganda Archives, Art. 10, *Halifax nella Nuova Scozia*, No. 58, cited by O'Brien, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

to propose you for the position . . . Propaganda will soon receive my consent to that effect." On July 26, 1817, Fr. Burke was informed by the Prefect of the Propaganda that the Holy See had decided to erect the Vicariate of Nova Scotia, appointing him titular Bishop of Zion and Vicar-Apostolic of Nova Scotia. Dr. Burke was consecrated by Bishop Plessis on July 5, 1818.

Bishop Burke's first care was to provide an adequate supply of priests for his diocese, and within two years he ordained five. Two years later he writes to the Archbishop of Dublin: "We have just begun to build a cathedral here, which will cost us ten thousand pounds sterling." In addition to his purely pastoral duties Bishop Burke ventured also into the field of authorship. Of his writings Archbishop O'Brien, a successor in the See of Halifax, says: "We find in Bishop Burke's writings clearness of exposition, logical arrangement of arguments, a thorough grasp of the question under treatment. The amount of erudition displayed is prodigious."[1]

During a brief episcopate Dr. Burke was most active, and of him may be justly said *implevit tempora multa.* He died on November 29, 1820, and was buried in the cemetery adjoining old St. Peter's Church. In 1846 the remains were exhumed and re-interred in Holy Cross cemetery, where a modest slab, with a suitable inscription, marks his place in God's acre.

It is doubtful if any other Irish Prelate of his day had such a restless and turbulent career as Edmund Burke—with the possible exception of Bishop England, who has found such a capable biographer in my colleague, Dr. Guilday, of the Catholic University of America. Of both, in my judgment, it might be truly said: "*Heureux l'homme quand il n'a pas les défauts de ses qualités.*"

P. W. Browne

[1] *Memoirs of Bishop Burke*, p. 128.

QUEENSLAND AND IRISH CATHOLICS

BY GEORGE O'NEILL, S.J.

THE recent appearance of Mr. P. S. Cleary's substantial volume, *Australia's Debt to Irish Nation-Builders*,[1] reminds us of the special links that in the past have united Ireland to Australia's great north-east State. Although emigration from Ireland to Queensland has, for various reasons, come almost to a standstill, yet it is natural that Irish readers should retain interest in a region that occupies an area three times that of France, that has immense possibilities the development of which is left to a population still only about one-sixtieth that of France, and that still bears written upon it in broad characters no small part of the tale of Ireland's nineteenth-century exiles. In the following few pages we concern ourselves only with Queensland's religious history.

Its origin as an abode of white men, Irish or other, was not happier than that of New South Wales, Tasmania or Norfolk Island. The political furies and judicial cruelties of the closing eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries flung upon the shores of Moreton Bay, near which now stands Brisbane, Queensland's capital city, shiploads of convicts—or men punished without being convicted—for whose spiritual welfare, at least if they were Catholics, no help was provided. The energetic and famous Father Therry brought some transitory alleviation to this convict colony by a visit in 1826, but no priest made a permanent stay. In 1842 the settlement of Moreton Bay was thrown open to free immigrants, and in 1843 four Passionist Fathers attempted a permanent mission; but the circumstances were in every way so unfavourable that in 1846 they withdrew. Their hopes had been chiefly centred on the aboriginals. But these, backward indeed, but far from incapable of develop-

[1] *Australia's Debt to Irish Nation-Builders.* By P. S. Cleary, Editor of the *Catholic Press.* Sydney: Angus and Robertson; Dublin: Gill. 1933. 15s. net.

ment, were rendered hopeless material by their intercourse with the immigrant Europeans and Asiatics. Often of a bad type, and with little or no religious influences brought to bear on them, the new-comers either tyrannised pitilessly over the unhappy blacks or else communicated to them their own corruptions, physical and moral.

When the blacks met with kind treatment, they often repaid it with good services and devoted attachment. Thus a Father Luckie, one of the earliest missionaries among them, was actually chosen by a native tribe as their king—not, we may assume, an attractive dignity! But too often the unfortunate aborigines, ill-used, cheated, expelled from the hunting-ground that afforded them subsistence, responded by fierce raids and massacres, and this increased the ill-will of the white settlers. Missionaries, some of them truly heroic men like the Highland-Scotch Father Duncan McNab, continued their efforts on behalf of the blacks, but these efforts remained largely ineffectual in face of indifferent governments, white land-grabbers, and ecclesiastics whose hands and financial resources were over-occupied with other problems. In any case the native population dwindled rapidly.

The gold-rush of the 'fifties hardly extended its effects into Queensland—a name that came along with colonial status in 1859—nor was there notable advance in prosperity till, about 1870, gold-mining became a lucrative occupation and, according as the "bush" was cleared, pasturage, timber-cutting, sugar-cane growing and other rural industries attracted a rapidly-growing number of settlers.

Meantime, a burst of energy had been infused into the religious life of the colony by the arrival in 1861 of Dr. James Quinn (or O'Quinn), the first bishop of Brisbane. It was, perhaps, overdue. In 1843 one rude shanty (we are told) was the only building in all the vast North-East that represented a Catholic church. In 1860 there were

still only two resident priests—Fathers M'Ginnety and Hanly, with two churches and two small schools; while the population of a total 28,000 included some 7,700 Catholics. Father Hanly had built the first church in Brisbane, dedicating it to St. Stephen. He was, indeed, a man of exceptional vigour. On one occasion he took a large part, with his own hands, in the construction of a much-needed plank-bridge where formerly a swim across had been necessary; on another, enlisting two or three helpers and wielding an axe, he began and completed a weather-board cottage for a woman who had been suddenly left a widow and shelterless.

To face such a region and such situations Dr. Quinn was well qualified. Born in Co. Kildare, endowed with a naturally vigorous mind and body; a near relative of Cardinal Cullen's, educated chiefly at Rome, occupied for twelve years with priestly ministries and educational work in Dublin, he had studied and observed much. His varied experiences had included the revolutionary turmoils of Rome in 1847 and the cholera-plague of the subsequent years in Ireland. He was too prudent to sail for his Australian diocese without helpers; he brought out five priests and five Sisters of Mercy.

Then he entered upon and continued for long years the life of a pioneer missionary bishop. It was a life such as has been lived and been described many times; but it still remains somewhat remote from the comprehension of persons accustomed only to the humdrum and sheltered average clerical life of old Catholic countries. Dr. Quinn was, indeed, better housed than had been the first bishop of West Australia, whose only roof for some time was the wooden arrangement put up at first merely to shelter the church bell. But his "palace" would have seemed a shabby presbytery in an Irish village. It was not, however, incongruous with his metropolitan city, which he had at first some difficulty in finding, and where his first day (as he wrote home) was enlivened by his watching

the struggles of a bullock-team to drag a waggon out of a deep slough in the middle of the principal street. But Brisbane saw little of his presence. His diocese had to be visited, and a visitation was a matter of a year or two rather than of months. Without delay he started on his first tour, taking with him three of his priests. They travelled more than a thousand miles, on horseback when not on foot, and amid the most varied adventures. For twelve years the Bishop used no conveyance other than a horse; indeed at times and places no other was at all possible. It is needless to recount his wanderings in regions sometimes unmapped and trackless; to tell of nights spent in the open air; to describe the strange fare provided by chance hospitality and acceptable only to the keenest hunger—"damper"—a mixture of flour and water baked anyhow, sardines for a relish, and drinks called by courtesy "tea" and unmitigated by milk. Then too, rest, even after violent fatigues, was not easy to secure; for the neighbourhood of priest or bishop led naturally to demands, and sudden calls to sick or otherwise needy persons were apt to require unlooked-for starts on treks of any length. Sometimes a striking reward would come for such an effort in the shape of a long-delayed conversion or a death-bed made unexpectedly happy.

By 1871 the Bishop was able to forward to Rome an account of his diocese in which figured such comparisons as the following:—

	1861	1871
Priests in Diocese	2	30
Catholic population	7,000	30,000
Schools	4	28
Churches	4	30
Convents	0	4
Orphanages	0	1
Industrial Schools	0	1
Debt	£1,250	0

To this record of progress we need add only this fact—that just as Dr. Quinn began his episcopate state-aid for religious purposes ceased to be given. Soon after the unjust and disastrous policy of secularism in education was inaugurated, and Australian Catholics had to face the necessity of providing their own schools while paying their full quota as supposed beneficiaries of an expensive system of state schooling.

The discovery of gold-fields in the late 'sixties and the rise of prices for wool after the Franco-Prussian war had considerable effect in stimulating increase of population and prosperity in Queensland. Its colonists contained by that time, as they still contain, a remarkable mixture of elements—English, Irish, Scotch, Italian, German, Chinese, Japanese and Polynesian. It may be safely asserted that, among these families, the Irish have provided the Church in Queensland with her most faithful members and most generous supporters.

It was, accordingly, in every way natural that Dr. Quinn's attention should have been early and earnestly directed toward the filling-up of the waste places of his huge diocese with settlers from Ireland. He saw around him thousands of cultivable acres lying untilled and unpastured; he heard only too clearly from Ireland the cry of the landless—of the victims of exterminating landlords. Why not make the two ends meet? He applied to the Queensland government for concessions on behalf of duly-selected Irish immigrants; and, this point being gained, he employed in Ireland suitable recruiting agents, one of them being his brother Matthew, destined later also to occupy an Australian diocese, and Father James Dunne, a native of Leighlin.[1] The first shipload was brought out by Fr. Dunne, who had quested chiefly in the country round about Tullamore. Their vessel had been christened the "Erin-go-Bragh," but its progress

[1] A brother of the two Bishops Quinn became a Canon of the diocese of Dublin and Parish Priest of Dun Laoghaire, then called Kingstown.

was so tedious that the emigrants called it in joke the "Erin-go-slow." One cause of delay and almost of total wreck was tragic enough; in a spirit, as it was thought, of murderous anti-Catholic and anti-Irish bigotry a large auger-hole had been bored in the bottom of the vessel without any displacement of the copper sheeting being visible; and this deadly mischief was discovered by the crew, in striking answer (as it seemed) to prayer, only just in time to save their foundering in the open ocean. Having landed his fellow-voyagers and seen them satisfactorily settled on the soil of Queensland, Fr. Dunne resumed his voyaging, and ere long brought out to the Antipodes as many shipmates as before. This expedition also ended safely; but when Fr. Dunne returned to Ireland on the same ship, "The Fiery Star," it seemed to justify its ominous-sounding name. A fire broke out and could not be got under. The passengers and crew, who were nearly all non-Catholics, crowded into the life boats and got off, leaving on board only Fr. Dunne, the cook and half a dozen sailors. The boats and those who had sought safety in them were never heard of again. Fr. Dunne and his companions, after a day of agonizing suspense, were carried off uninjured by a passing ship. Four times again did this devoted priest make the voyage from Ireland to Australia, bringing out successive consignments of well-chosen emigrants. Altogether some 6,000 Irish settlers were thus introduced and afforded a solid security for Queensland's hopes of a prosperous future.

But the work proved too good to last. The hostile cries that might have been expected were raised; various sects and parties felt or feared their being crushed out; the country, it was declared, was coming to be—not "Queensland," but "Quinnsland." The government yielded to the clamour; the concessions granted to emigrants were withdrawn, and the "Queensland Immigration Society" was dissolved in 1865.

Dr. Quinn went to Rome for the Vatican Council of 1871, and there figured with some distinction. He found himself still in the Eternal City when it was attacked and seized by the army of Victor Emmanuel; and on the critical 20th of September he hastened to the Porta Pia to give every assistance in his power to the Irish Zouaves who had gathered in for the defence of the Papal power. He showed some years later his coolness amid scenes of danger when, in his own diocese, a strike movement had culminated in a dangerous mutiny; by his appearance among the excited men and a few words addressed to them he effected a cessation of violence which had proved impossible to the civil authorities. He gained a similar peaceful victory over the Brisbane Orangemen. They had for some time been placarding the town with announcements of a general muster of the brethren to protest against the Pope, Popery, and the encroachment of Irish Papists; but when their meeting began, to their amazement the Catholic bishop appeared, mounted a cart to address them, and, though at first received with cries and hisses, addressed them with such calmness and point that hisses were changed into cheers, hostile feelings laid aside, and attentive listeners and admirers, if not permanent friends, were gained by the fearless prelate.

Dr. Quinn's combats and victories were, it may be admitted, not always so peaceful. He had the defects of his qualities, and his relations with various sections of his flock, as well as with heterodox outsiders, brought him into many public contentions. His foundation and direction of a Catholic weekly paper, though a meritorious effort, did not prove conducive to general tranquillity. Having invited into his diocese in 1869 the Australian Sisters of St. Joseph, he engaged ere long in an active dispute with their foundress and superior, and his intransigent attitude led to their withdrawal from Queensland in 1881. (They were recalled in 1916). But, though he had a congenital difficulty in entering sympathetically

into the views of other people, he was not usually narrow in policy nor unresponsive to kindly service. Thus (for example) we find that in his reports to Rome he dwells with emphasis on various acts of generosity and beneficence for which he felt himself indebted to non-Catholics of his diocese. The impression made by his vigorous personality and the general success of his administration were such that when he died in 1881, after twenty years of episcopate, a splendid demonstration of esteem and veneration accompanied his obsequies. At the same time his testamentary dispositions showed that, whereas by prudent financial management he had accumulated considerable resources in money and land, these were now all bequeathed to the charitable and religious institutions of his diocese.

Since his death suffragan dioceses and a vicariate-apostolic have been carved out of his vast original diocese, while two prelates have succeeded him in the See of Brisbane—become since 1887 an archbishopric. The long administration of Dr. Robert Dunne, 1882 to 1917, was marked by zeal, energy and a prudence shown notably in financial affairs. We do not wish to dwell on the merits and achievements of the present incumbent of the See, still active after twenty-eight years as a bishop: it is, we think, generally felt in Australia that no Churchman of the Antipodes has surpassed his combination of the gifts that make for both brilliancy and efficiency. Fortune has not dealt with him indulgently, and financial disappointments have impeded his large enterprises. Of these the greatest has been the new cathedral of St. Stephen at Brisbane—an edifice marked out to be one of the largest and handsomest of the world; and, if its walls are slow in rising above the well-chosen site and solid foundations, it must be remembered how often in history similar designs have required centuries for their completion.

The number of Catholics in Queensland is at present about 180,000, out of a total population of about 950,000. This proportion is not wholly satisfactory if we compare

it with that of 1871 when the figures were 30,000 Catholics out of a population of 120,000—one-fifth as compared with one-fourth. A similar fall in proportional strength is to be noted in New Zealand and other parts of Australasia. Certain factors of immigration are doubtless the chief solution of the problem, and it would certainly be to-day a far more serious one had there been a less active development of Catholic life and works than Queensland plainly manifests. Let us merely recall the establishment of four instead of one centre of diocesan administration and such increases as the following since 1871 :—priests 250 instead of 30, schools 250 instead of 28, churches 331 instead of 30.

The rulers of Queensland's suffragan dioceses—Rockhampton, Townsville and Toowoomba—have all been of Irish birth or extraction, with the exception of Dr. Cani, the first bishop of Rockhampton. On their history, where there has been much to praise, we have no space to dwell ; nor on that of the devoted Irish Augustinians who have been administering, in the torrid and barren North, the Vicariate-apostolic of Cooktown. Nor can we speak here of the numerous Irish-born laymen who have risen to the head of professional and political life. Their careers—we may mention the names of Byrnes, M'Cawley and T. J. Ryan [1]—have been too often cut short by early deaths.

Queensland is not exempt from the material evils that impede Australian progress at the present day—a natural insufficiency (gradually being remedied) of water-supply, fall in the prices of primary products, drift of rural population to the towns and diminution in the number of primary producers. But on the whole there is no State in Australia regarding whose future, both as to temporal prosperity and religious well-being, brighter hopes may be safely entertained.

G. O'NEILL

[1] For an account of the distinguished careers of these and other Irish-Australian laymen see *Australia's Debt to Irish Nation-Builders*.

CHRONICLE

American National Conference of Catholic Charities

BY JAMES J. WALSH, M.D., PH.D.

CATHOLIC circles in New York were deeply stirred at the beginning of October by the sessions of the National Conference of Catholic Charities, which for the first time, at the end of nineteen years of existence, held its meeting in New York in connection with the celebration of the centenary of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. The meeting attracted special attention in the newspapers, not only of New York City but of most of the cities of the Eastern States. Altogether some forty archbishops and bishops from various parts of the country attended the Conference. Nearly 5,000 delegates registered for the meeting, some 6,000 people were present at the opening session in the Metropolitan Opera House, and about 3,500 sat down to the dinner which closed the proceedings—the after-dinner speeches being made by his Excellency President Roosevelt and his Eminence Cardinal Hayes. The delegates were welcomed at the opening meeting by the Lieutenant Governor of the State of New York, representing the Governor who unfortunately had been stricken with appendicitis a few days before, but not until he had dictated a letter to the St. Vincent de Paul Society proclaiming his admiration for their activity and their methods of bringing relief to the poor.

A number of Federal and New York State officials, whose duties bring them in contact with the work of relieving the many who are in need, read papers before the Congress and took part in the discussion of the various problems of charity which are facing the world at the present time. Many of these officials proclaimed their confidence in Catholic methods for the solution of these problems. Experience had shown them how humanly sympathetic were Catholic activities in their exercise—helping to set the poor on their feet rather than pauperizing them.

Mayor O'Brien of New York City, in welcoming the delegates to the Conference, said very frankly that it was fortunate that the meeting should be held in New York City this year, because there was no place that needed so much a solution of the problems of charity as our American metropolis. At the present moment there are in New York City one million of people who are being supported either by private charity or by public subvention. So far, since the depression set in four years ago—everybody now considers that the worst is passing—nearly $300,000,000 have been spent in the City in helping those who otherwise would have suffered very severely; some would actually have perished.

There are 3,500,000 families in the United States, with an average of four to five persons in the family, who are in want. We have the distinction of being the richest country on the globe, but at the same time the one that has most people in want. We have most gold in the treasury and most food in storage, and yet more people are workless and hungry here than anywhere else.

Mr. Harry L. Hopkins, the Director of the Federal Relief Administration, speaking of the kind of people who are now on the Relief said : " There are some people who still think that the relief-seekers consist of people who are naturally or entirely made up of unemployables, ne'er-do-wells, drunkards, bums, people who never could get on." He declared that anyone who had experience with relief work during the present crisis knew that any such thought was absurd : " You have a cross section of the American people on this Relief roll—the finest people in the world, mainly working people, because in the main it is the workers who have taken the beating in this depression." Many have lost their homes, a great many have lost the savings of a lifetime ; they were thrifty, honest, hard working people, whose one idea was to secure a job and go on with their work, but who found it impossible to secure employment. " The worst feature of the present situation," he added, " one that is quite indefensible, is to have food rotting on the ground or packed in the warehouses of speculators whose one purpose is the making of money, while people around them have not enough to eat."

The assistant commissioner of the Vocational and Extension Department of the New York State Board of Education told those at the Congress particularly interested in social work that the white collar group had been the hardest hit by the depression. He described touchingly the plight of highly educated engineers, architects, and others who under ordinary circumstances receive good wages. They were not hard hit at the beginning and were quite prepared for a year or even two of the depression ; but as the years have gone on, with means exhausted and nothing to do, they and their families have been in dire straits. According to the statistics of the Federal Relief Administration twenty times as many people are now getting relief in New York as in the winter of 1929, while in the country as a whole thirty times as many are on relief rolls.

There was general agreement that it would be sad indeed to return to the conditions which existed before the depression set in. The hope was expressed on many lips that the sufferings through which we had passed would arouse human consciences

to bring about such modification of social conditions as would prevent the occurrence of a series of events similar to those in the midst of which we are at the present time. This is a warning for us to pass such legislation for the regulation and distribution of money as will secure for the workman wages and hours of labour which will accord him leisure for legitimate enjoyment and the opportunity for such development of intelligence as will make life really worth living. Right Rev. Monsignor John A. Ryan[1] defined what was meant by this formula. He insisted that it would not be easy to secure this : " To bring about full employment the share of the profits going to labour will have to be further increased through higher wage rates at the expense of the return to capital. Unfortunately capital, badly educated by court decisions and the practices of corporations to expect high returns, will not gracefully and quickly reconcile itself to a notable reduction. Higher wages will bring about higher cost of production." As always the Professor of Moral Theology and Industrial Ethics at the Catholic University was concrete and practical in his suggestions. He said : " In the present emergency, therefore, the common good requires capital to be satisfied with considerably less than 6 per cent. and business men to be content with reasonable profits." He defined Pope Pius' phrase, " an ample sufficiency," as meaning sufficiency for the support of a worker and his family, for their economic security both in the present and in the future, and for the acquisition of a moderate amount of property. This is the minimum of wage justice. The National Recovery Act and its administration are already teaching men in a practical fashion that economics is subject to ethics and that industrial activities are governed by moral laws.

The keynote of the discussions that were to be taken up during the Conference was sounded by Monsignor Keegan, President of the National Conference of Catholic Charities, at the opening meeting in the Metropolitan Opera House before some 6,000 people. To Monsignor Keegan more than to any other is due the success of this great meeting and of the whole Conference. He has given proofs of executive ability of a high order ; for he saw very clearly the breadth of the arrangements that would have to be made

[1] [Mgr. John A. Ryan, in recognition of his great services in the twin fields of social science and social action, has recently been created a Domestic Prelate by His Holiness the Pope. Mgr. Ryan, whose name is a household word in America, has been a frequent and much appreciated contributor to STUDIES. We take this opportunity of associating ourselves with the many congratulations which have come to him from all parts of the Catholic world—and especially from the working classes of America, whose rights he has at all times so ably defended. *Ad multos annos* in this good cause is their and our prayer.—Editor].

to ensure success. The result was that, in spite of the large numbers, everything ran smoothly, and all those who were present went away with a feeling of pride that Catholics had been able to accomplish so great a work for the common good.

At the beginning of his address Mgr. Keegan said: "During the years of depression, which have been such a sore trial for our people, the outstanding and appalling mistake has been the famine of spiritual and philosophical thought. We appear totally to have lost sight of the fact that 'not in bread alone doth man live, but in every word that proceedeth from the mouth of God.' We must retrace our path until once again we find the crossroads where in confusion we lost sight of the eternal verities." Mgr. Keegan emphasized the fact that "the heartrending difficulties of the last four years are not merely the result of the post-war period. Their roots stretch back for 150 years—to the time when the industrial revolution began to marshal the forces of the machine and we turned from plough and harrow to cement and steel . . . . A philosophy has grown up which exalts economic success and minimizes the importance of human beings. . . . The American people will succeed in the task now before them, if they recognize that society is dying from a slow starvation which is not of the body but of the soul . . . . 'Unless the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it; unless the Lord keep the city, he watcheth in vain that keepeth it.' The divine mandate is: 'Seek ye first the kingdom of God and His justice, and all these things shall be added unto you.'"

An excellent idea of the scope of the Conference may be obtained from the fact that at the same hour on Tuesday, the second day, there was in the Grand Ballroom of the Waldorf Astoria a discussion of "The Home: Its Meaning to a Vincentian," while in the Astor Gallery down the hall there was a round table meeting of the Committee on Families and in another suite a special meeting of the Apostolate of the Sea; in the Sert Room there was a joint round table meeting of the Committee on Protective Care and the Committee on Community Activity to discuss "The Use of Recreational Activities in dealing with Juvenile Delinquency," while in another suite there was a discussion of "Citizenship in its Relation to Justice;" in a third suite there was a round table meeting of the Committee on Neighbourhood and Community Activity, and in a fourth a round table meeting with regard to the duties of Catholic chaplains in hospitals. In all these the discussions were led by experts who were themselves directly engaged in some way in the practical

application of the subjects under discussion. Many of them held important governmental or municipal offices which involved consideration of the questions that they were discussing.

A similar set of meetings, held on the following day at the same hour, discussed the social betterment of criminals, the mentally ailing, the special needs of children, and adult education. There was a meeting of Catholic chaplains of penal institutions and a conference of Religious with regard to the place of mental disease in community life. Parish priests from all over the country met to discuss their relations to the Society of St. Vincent de Paul and to "Social Agencies outside of the Church doing work within the Parish." There was also a special meeting of Catholic nurses to discuss their relations to Catholic Action. For these various meetings the principal address was always made by someone closely in touch with the situation that has developed in connection with the current depression. Most of these meetings were crowded, and the audiences were an index of the deep interest felt in all the questions.

Every element of care for those in need was represented in the discussions. The medical director of the New York City Committee on Mental Hygiene discussed the "Effects of the Depression on the Mental Health of the Family," and the Associate Superintendent of Schools of the Board of Education of New York City discussed "The School as a Preventive and Reconditioning Agency." In connection with this paper the State Commissioner of Parole in New York City took up the topic and enlarged on it. The place of boys clubs at a time like this was the subject of a paper by the executive secretary of the Catholic Boys Clubs of New York City, while all the phases of "Family Life To-day and To-morrow" were discussed by a group of experts from all over the country. Those taking part were not only Catholics but social service workers with expert knowledge of conditions and of the means to bring about improvement.

All of the Religious Orders were represented, and some 400 Sisters—apart from those resident in New York City—attended. All hours of the day were made use of, and there were breakfast meetings on Sunday morning which helped to fill out the programme and gave experts the chance to tell fully of their experiences. All of the Catholic societies of the country, the Federation of Catholic Alumnae, the Catholic Daughters of America, the National Council of Catholic Women, the Ladies of Charity, the National Committee of Women on Relief Mobilization, and the Councils of Catholic Women from various states and cities had delegates to the Conference.

Miss Frances Perkins, who as Secretary of Labour occupies a seat in the President's Cabinet and is usually considered to be very close to the President in his policies, proved an interesting contributor to the Conference. She emphasized particularly the need for job insurance. When men want to work, it must be made possible for them to obtain it. "Industry has now had thrust upon it a new social and public responsibility. It is coming to realize that it holds its vast plants and equipment as trustee for the nation. It has by the bitter lessons of the depression come to realize that it must use its factories, its mines and its warehouses with consideration for the public welfare." Miss Perkins, who is the first woman to occupy a Cabinet position in this country, has been prominent for a number of years in the labour policy of New York State, which with its more than ten millions of inhabitants presents almost more serious problems than the nation. The expressions she now uses have been formulated before, and present conclusions that must be put in practice if the depression is to drive home the lessons which it seems providentially meant for.

The Society of St. Vincent de Paul came in for some lofty tributes from all the dignitaries who took part in the Conference. The President of the United States made special mention of its work and expressed his appreciation of its generous efforts to solve the nation's problems. The Cardinal paid it his tribute; the Governor of the State of New York, just before he came down with appendicitis, wrote a letter in which he dwelt in detail on his acquaintance with the Society of St. Vincent de Paul and its work—immense in its achievement, though quietly and unostentatiously accomplished. Its members helped men to help themselves, lifted them out of the slough of despond, and aided them to find remunerative occupation. The President mentioned that during 1932 the Society had spent $15,000,000 for the relief of 150,000 families, comprising altogether 750,000 individuals in the United States. The Society would probably care least to be appreciated for what it spent monetarily, but this is a very striking index of the immense good it accomplishes.

The culminating event of the Conference was the concluding dinner meeting, which taxed all the resources of the new immense Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. Some 3,500 people sat down to table in various dining rooms of the hotel, the principal banquet being held in the Grand Ballroom, with six rows of clerics and prominent laymen in tiers on the dais. The announcement was made at the beginning of the dinner that there would be a national "hook-

up " on the radio and that for an hour the proceedings of the after-dinner meeting would be broadcast all over the United States. During the four days of the Conference, all the important speeches had been broadcast in the New York area and could be heard, east of the Mississippi, by all who wished.

One of the concluding paragraphs of the President's address received great applause, because it re-echoed the heartfelt sentiments of all the Catholics present. It was a striking passage—all the more so to be uttered by a statesman in the modern time when infidelity has become fashionable and agnosticism among educated non-Catholics almost the rule. The President said: " The people of the United States still recognize, and I believe recognize with firmer faith than ever before, that spiritual values count in the long run more than material ones. Those people in other lands—and I say this advisedly—who have sought by edict or by law to eliminate the right of mankind to believe in God and to practise that belief, have in every known case discovered sooner or later that they are tilting in vain against an inherent, essential and undying quality, and indeed a necessity of the human race, a quality and a necessity which in every century have proved an essential to permanent progress—and I speak of religion . . . . Always have I been certain that we would conquer because the spirit of America springs from faith, faith in the beloved institutions of our land, and a true and abiding faith in the divine guidance of God."

Following the President and beginning his address with a tribute to him, Cardinal Hayes spoke on " The Leaven of Charity." He dwelt on the stewardship of wealth and emphasized the fact that, while there is a God-given right to the ownership of private property, God condemns the use of goods in utter disregard of His divine plans and without attention to the needs of our fellow countrymen. He reminded his audience of the rich man in the Scripture who so complacently and selfishly planned to enjoy his wealth. The reply of the Lord to him was: " Thou fool, this night do they require thy soul of three; and whose shall those things be which thou hast provided? " And the Cardinal continued: " The things of earth, even the mighty empires of the past—which have risen and crumbled—are of little consequence in the sight of God, and Divine Wisdom has passed a scathing judgment upon man's pre-occupation with material riches. What we need more than anything else is that the leaven of charity should leaven the whole mass of mankind and provide the sweet bread of brotherly love for those who are in need."

JAMES J. WALSH

REVIEWS

Biography

JESUS CHRIST. His Life, His Teaching, His Work. By August Reatz, Professor of Theology at Mainz. Translated by Mary Sands and edited by Rev. G. Brinkworth, S.J. London: Sands. 1933. 10s. 6d. net.

As time goes on it is becoming every day more evident that the world can only be saved by belief in Jesus Christ. In every department of life the evils of neglecting the teaching of Christ are becoming more manifest. In order that Christ's teaching should produce its full effect, it is necessary that we should know and love Jesus Christ Himself. Any book, therefore, which helps us to do this is of the greatest value. In the present work the Personality of our Lord is put before us in a most attractive and sympathetic manner—in a manner calculated not only to increase in the reader an appreciation of our Lord's teaching, but also to foster his devotion.

Although this book is not a Life of Christ in the strict sense of the word, it is of course founded on the Gospel narrative. There is an account of our Lord's Childhood and Public Life in relation to His character and teaching. The chapter headed "The Personality of Jesus" puts before us a wonderfully vivid picture of our Lord as a perfect Man, in which His natural beauty and strength of character and greatness of intellect stand out in strong relief. A thought-provoking account of His Messianic self-consciousness leads up to the great central truth of the Incarnation: that in Jesus Christ the mysterious element which we call personality is divine; that Jesus is a Divine Person, the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity who assumed our human nature—"perfect man, perfect God."

The second and third parts of the book are taken up with an account of the teaching of Christ, the new conception of God, the Kingdom of God, the New Law, the Church and her Sacraments, the essence of Christianity. The treatment of the Blessed Sacrament, which is done with great care and fulness, explains at considerable length the relationship of the Last Supper, the Sacrifice of the Cross and the Mass.

This book can be sincerely recommended; it will prove most useful not only to those whose duty it is to instruct others, but to all who desire to advance in the knowledge and love of our Lord. The author, the translator, and the publisher—all three merit praise for this excellent addition to Catholic ascetical literature.

H. V. G.

ESSAYS IN IRISH BIOGRAPHY. By W. F. P. Stockley, M.A., D.Litt., Emeritus Professor of English, University College, Cork. Cork University Press. Dublin: Talbot Press. 1933. Pp. 191. 6s. 0d. net.

ABOUT one-half of this volume is in the nature of an historical study of the later Penal Times as affecting Catholic thought and practice: it is associated with the quite mediocre career of Thomas Moore. Canon Sheehan and Dr. Richard Henebry are the themes, vividly and personally presented, of the remaining pages of what on the whole is a distinctly effective contribution to the biographical literature of the past three half-centuries in Ireland. It is not a collection of mere notices: on the other hand, the four papers here collected are far from assuming the status of formal "lives." But they all deal, in the form of personal survey and appreciation, with really permanent and important aspects of Irish concerns; and for that reason, no less than because they all embody a characteristic delineation of the writer's mind, they will be of good service.

When we say that these studies of characters and epochs represent the writer himself, enough has been said to define their varied and ever piquant form. But they also give us appraisals of essential worth in that Dr. Stockley has here finally disposed of the sorry claims of Moore to any measure of Catholic and national values. In both ways he is here, perhaps, even too seriously, too elaborately, despoiled of the attributes which emotional writers of magazine fiction have long accorded him. The work of Canon Sheehan, no less than the shy and reserved mind that so steadily sought to do our people service, is enhanced in the best of this volume. The treatment of that extraordinary blend of scholarship and strife embodied in Dr. Richard Henebry is adequate, affectionate even; but in sum it simply shows how temperament failed to do justice to fine mental worth and fine national quality. T. C.

NEWMAN, EDUCATION, AND IRELAND. By W. F. P. Stockley, M.A., D.Litt. London: Sands. 1932. 3s. 6d.

USING a skilfully interwoven series of citations from Newman's writings and adding a goodly number of related passages from other contemporary sources, Dr. Stockley has here given his readers an authentic personal view on the nature of what Newman himself styled "My Campaign in Ireland." Save for the addition of ten pages to the text, evidently from sources entirely later than the period 1851-1858, the result is a rapid and varied survey

of all the complex problems that were certain to arise whenever Newman went into action, as distinct from formally academic writing. That complexity arises necessarily from Newman's own very special temperament, a temperament which in contact with executive affairs showed itself to be subtle and elusive, variable and multiform. Its distinctive character was greatly heightened by his method of recording his impressions of men and of events in elaborated journals and letters. Thus it comes that his own records of the happenings of 1851-1858 present many intricate problems of adjustment.

Concerning all these tendencies and their generally untoward effects, Dr. Stockley's essay at solution and recapitulation will be found very serviceable by students of the man John Henry Newman, of his associates, and of all others with whom he came into contact, transient or other. Mr. Wilfrid Ward, cited by Dr. Stockley in a note (p. 35), avows that Newman exemplifies "almost insoluble contradictions." The writer of that note adds his express view that, from Newman's own written texts, opposite accounts could be fully presented as to his mind on going to Oxford and on the Vatican Council. Ward renounces the attempt to explain such obvious contradictions. Dr. Stockley makes bold to attempt a synthesis. All his friends and readers will rejoice to see that, in the maturity of years and in retirement from long academic services, Dr. Stockley has here, with ever-resurgent spirit and enterprise, entered on yet another of those problems of high seriousness. They will enjoy every line and paragraph of his vivid presentation and interpretation of Newman in and on Ireland. T. C.

SAINT HUGH OF LINCOLN. By Joseph Clayton. London: Burns Oates & Washbourne. 1931. 6s.

SAINT ANSELM. By Joseph Clayton. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1933. $1.75.

Mr. Clayton has chosen his subjects well. Both Anselm and Hugh of Lincoln are among the glories of mediaeval England. Both were distinguished foreigners who came to England from the Continent as builders in England of the continental ecclesiastical tradition, yet both men have won the respect and gratitude of the English race, whether Catholic or Protestant. To Ruskin, Saint Hugh of Lincoln was "the most beautiful sacerdotal figure known to me in history." And of St. Anselm a Protestant historian once wrote: "Anselm was truly a great man: so good that he was held a saint in his very lifetime, so meek that even

his enemies honoured him, so wise that he was the foremost thinker of his day and the forerunner of the greatest philosophers of ours." Here we have then two lives that show us the best of that Catholic tradition which once was so strong in Anglo-Saxon and Norman England. Mr. Clayton writes with full knowledge of his subject, but with a fine restraint. For the most part he is content to tell his story almost in the words of those who once were eye-witnesses of these two saintly lives. For St. Anselm we have the saint's own letters and the *Vita* by Eadmer, the monk of Canterbury who served for many years as the saintly Archbishop's companion and secretary. For Saint Hugh we have the *Magna Vita*, composed in great detail by Adam, the monk of Eynsham (near Oxford), who was the saint's chaplain during the last three years of Hugh's life, and to whom Hugh told in detail the story of his boyhood and his early life amid the austerities of La Grande Chartreuse. We have also a vivid portrait of the saint by one who knew him, and who was as a rule more quick to see faults than virtues : Gerald of Wales, whom we in Ireland know better as Giraldus Cambrensis. Mr. Clayton has made wise use of this authentic material, and his two biographies are a welcome addition to the ever-growing list of good Catholic " Lives of Saints." A. G.

THE ENGLISH WAY. Studies in English Sanctity from St. Bede to Newman. Edited by Maisie Ward. London : Sheed & Ward. 1933. 7s. 6d.

CONVERSIONS TO THE CATHOLIC CHURCH. A Symposium compiled by Maurice Leahy. London : Burns Oates & Washbourne. 1933. 5s.

MESSRS. Sheed and Ward's new collection of essays has been planned as a counterpart to *The Irish Way*, which the same firm gave us a year ago. A comparison between the two volumes is inevitable ; and it must be admitted that both are of uneven merit. The English volume has an advantage over its Irish predecessor in the renown of some of its contributors. Yet my pick among these studies of English sanctity would omit some of the most familiar names among the contributors. Mr. Dawson has chosen (as might be expected) a congenial and most suggestive topic in his analysis of Langland's *Piers Plowman.* " Here is the Catholic Englishman *par excellence*, at once the most English of Catholic poets and the most Catholic of English poets : a man in whom Catholic faith and national feeling are fused in a single flame." Dom David Knowles has made a study of another (and

earlier) type of this very English Catholic tradition; and his short essay on St. Wulstan of Worcester (1008-1095) is perhaps the most successful portrait in the whole series. Based on an old biography which is the work of the Bishop's personal chaplain, this sketch of a patient, peaceful, hard-working, prayerful Anglo-Saxon prelate gives the authentic note of Catholic sanctity. And as a good second to the learned Benedictine's essay in biography, I would put the study of Bishop Richard Challoner by Mr. Michael Trappes-Lomax. Challoner was the man whom God raised up to sustain in faith and charity and piety the few surviving English Catholic families of the eighteenth century. Mr. Trappes-Lomax makes his readers feel the immense debt that these families owe to the saintly Bishop's example and to his teaching in such familiar works as the *Garden of the Soul*, *Think Well On't*, and the *Memoirs of Missionary Priests*.

Comparison with the companion Irish volume suggests an awkward, but inevitable, question. Where are the modern representatives of this old English Catholic tradition? The editor of this English selection has been content to let the nineteenth century be represented by one name, and one name alone—John Henry Newman. Is this fair to an older and perhaps more solidly English tradition? Why has Ullathorne been omitted? And Vaughan? Less intellectual than Newman, they suggest closer contact with the average English mind (in Ullathorne) and with an older tradition (in Vaughan). Yet perhaps no name can be quoted as fully representative of that faith and piety which had penetrated so deeply into the mind of mediaeval England. Mr. Dawson says truly: "The spiritual successors of Langland are to be found not in the Catholic Church, nor even in the Church of England, but among the Puritans and the rebels, with Fox and Bunyan and Whitfield and Blake." Newman and Manning were not the men to restore this older popular tradition.

At the end of it all I find that I have omitted all mention of Maisie Ward's most inspiring study of her namesake (and excellent model in Catholic Action), Mary Ward. That undaunted Englishwoman, in the midst of persecutions innumerable, set herself to found an Institute of holy women who should serve their neighbours with "not so much as two stakes put in cross" by way of religious enclosure—to protect their innocence, but also (she felt) to hamper their apostolate. Perhaps Mary Ward has done more than all the others to lay the foundations of a new (and old) English Catholic piety.

Mr. Leahy has gathered a goodly company to tell the tale of

their conversions : Wilfrid Childe, Lord Alfred Douglas, Father Owen Dudley, Christopher Hollis, Mr. and Mrs. Penrose Fry (the latter better known as Sheila Kaye-Smith), Father Lester, Father Martindale, Mr. F. W. Harvey and Mr Robert Speaight. But how many of these can speak in the name of the plain folk of Old England ? Almost all these distinguished converts, and some obvious names not included in this list, have come to the Catholic Church from the small Anglo-Catholic group of the Established Church Each of the company has the gift of writing, and the tale of their experiences wins our sympathy. But who will tell us the tale of less highly educated, but no less sincere, men and women who have found in the Catholic Church not merely a solution of their intellectual problems, but a strong hold on those principles of constant faith and simple charity and deep, unquestioning piety which once gave England men such as St. Boniface, St. Wulstan, Blessed John Fisher, Thomas More and Richard Challoner ? P. D.

Economics

THE INDUSTRIAL CRISIS. By Lieut.-Col. K. E. Edgeworth. London : Allen & Unwin. 1933. 5s.

The fact that the author of this book is at the same time a distinguished engineer and the bearer of a name illustrious in the science of economics arouses mixed feelings of apprehension and pleasurable anticipation. A feeling of apprehension is inevitable in view of some of the previous excursions of engineers into the realm of economics, for example Major Douglas and the technocrats ; while a feeling of pleasurable anticipation is engendered by the thought that the views of a cousin of the late Professor Edgeworth should be of interest and of value. An interesting struggle is suggested between the forces of heredity and environment, between native and acquired characteristics. Happily the Edgeworth triumphs over the engineer ; our hopes are realized and our fears prove to have been unfounded.

Colonel Edgeworth has brought a fresh and extremely keen mind to bear on the prevailing depression, and his analysis of its causes and possible remedies deserves close attention. While his knowledge of engineering enables him to provide many apt illustrations of the interplay of economic forces, he completely avoids the error, common to his fellow engineer economists, of arguing from the physical to the social sciences. Human nature,

he insists more than once, is fundamentally conservative, and is resistant to change at the behest of the legislator. Economic laws are not to be ignored, and have an inconvenient habit of asserting themselves whenever their violation is attempted. Colonel Edgeworth is as far as possible from being a Utopian; for him there is no salvation to be found in the lures of inflation, nationalization and the other panaceas that attract so many admirers in times of depression. His bias is all towards individualism and away from the easy delusions of socialistic idealism.

Indeed the principal value of this book is its insistence upon the responsibility of the individual citizen for the world's recent troubles. Emphasis is continually laid on the fact that the consumer is the conductor of the economic orchestra; it is he who calls the tune and pays for it. Decisions regarding the spending, saving and investment of incomes are all taken by individuals, and it is the sum of these decisions that determines the volume and direction of production. Many of the causes of the depression are to be found in the unwise spending, unwise investing and unwise lending of all classes of people since the war. The ordinary citizen is not allowed to escape responsibility for the innumerable blunders and stupidities of governments in recent years, since governments have been put in power by the voters, who must ultimately shoulder the blame as well as the cost of the follies of those whom they have elected. Hence arises the need for popular education in economics, a need which this book is intended partly to supply.

It is not necessary to draw attention in detail to Colonel Edgeworth's analysis of the depression, nor is it necessary to agree with everything he says in order to admire his way of saying it. In placing the main responsibility for the breakdown of the world's economic system on American policy in regard to tariffs and international lending he will probably secure general agreement, but no aspect of the depression is overlooked, and attention is rightly drawn to the complex mutual reactions of all the factors in the situation. This is Colonel Edgeworth's first publication on an economic subject, but we hope that it will not be his last, as it displays all the features that render an economic discussion profitable—keen powers of observation and a respect for conservative tradition combined with originality of outlook and felicity of style.

G. O'B.

History

THE IRISH LAW OF KINGSHIP. With special reference to Ailech and Cenel Eoghain. By Professor James Hogan. (Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy.) Dublin : Hodges Figgis ; London : Williams & Norgate. 1932. 3s. 6d.

A HISTORY OF IRELAND. By Professor Julius Pokorny. Translated from the German by Dr. Séana D. King. Dublin : Talbot Press. 1933. 8s. 6d.

THE ANCIENT LAND TENURES OF IRELAND. By Daniel Coghlan, D.Sc. (Econ.). Dublin : Browne & Nolan. 1933. 10s.

Professor Hogan's study falls into two main parts : the operation of the Celtic law of succession to kingship and the later tendency to substitute succession from father to son—chiefly under the influence of feudal custom. In the first part he confirms the conclusions arrived at by Professor MacNeill, adding much fresh evidence from his own investigations. The kingship was elective, but eligibility was limited to those whose father, grandfather, or great-grandfather had already reigned—that is, it was based on the Celtic law of inheritance within the limit of the *derbfine* or family group of four generations. It seems likely that, the further we go back in history, the more rigid and logical is the application of any principle of law—the only escape, short of violent lawbreaking, being through the operation of legal fictions. In Wales, Professor Hogan points out, succession was limited to three-generation groups—the *gelfine* of Irish law. Is it possible that the Irish jurists, as time went on, sought to establish a similar limitation, which would certainly have greatly reduced the element of rivalry and instability ? In the glosses and commentaries, much later than the principal texts of Irish law, there is frequent mention of a dignitary named flaith na gelfine, holding a place of importance next to the king and apparently exercising some measure of authority. Was this an early device, succeeded later by elective tanistry ? As to the origin of tanistry, which as an institution is not in evidence until late in the thirteenth century, it seems likely that the title and possibly the institution itself were inspired by the passage quoted by Professor Hogan from *Crith Gablach*, dating from A.D. 700, where apparently the Tanaisi rig is introduced to fill up a conventional number of seven grades without going outside of the tuath. In *Uraiccecht Bec* the seventh grade is supplied by an external and superior king.

The question—Who were they who had the right of electing to kingship ?—is examined at some length. It is strange that

nothing definite on this question has been found in the whole range of literature, annals, laws, sagas, etc. Professor Hogan leans to the view that the right belonged to the members of the royal kindred. In support, a noted instance of succession to the Armagh primacy might be cited, on the assumption that the laicised primacy was assimilated in this as in other respects to the secular rulership. Dr. MacCarthy, in an editorial footnote to the *Annals of Ulster*, A.D. 1129, points out that on a celebrated occasion, when a "successor of Patrick," making a circuit of visitation with his retinue, died at Ardpatrick in Munster, his successor was chosen by those who accompanied him or some number of them, without waiting to return to Armagh. The published laws, it is noted, contain only one passage on procedure at the election ; and this passage, taking the details of procedure for granted, merely lays down that the election should be held in the house of a briugu rather than in the house of an ordinary gentleman, a boaire. As far as it goes, this passage points to an assemblage in considerable numbers. There may be no real incongruity between the evidences which point to a single person (*e.g.* the man who presented the rod or staff of office), a small group of the royal kin, a larger assemblage (perhaps the airecht or curia), and a full assembly of freemen. These may represent stages in the process. In the Tripartite Life the choice of a successor to the kingship (of Tir Amalgada ?) requires the assent of twenty-four kindreds, which must have been thought to comprise the nobles of the territory. There is a great difficulty in the way of supposing that the effective choice belonged wholly to a small group of kinsmen. One effect of the law was to bring about in many instances a multiple dynasty, as in the case of Leinster, where three collateral lines, each carrying its own collateral sublines, were able to share in the succession for three centuries—each line obtaining its turn once in every generation. Each of these lines formed also a local dynasty, and it would have been remarkable if the three kindreds were brought together for a joint decision on each occasion when the chief kingship became vacant. Whatever may have been the theory, it is hardly doubtful that the decisive proof was reached when the new king presided for the first time over the assembly of his territory, and there is some evidence that his doing so was commonly accepted as the proof that he was really king. That the choice belonged to "the country" is twice stated as the law of the matter in 1560 by a reigning king, Sean Ua Neill (p. 239).

Professor Hogan's treatise is enlightening in many respects,

and must convince readers that much still remains to be investigated as regards both institutions and events in the history of Ireland. It amounts to a distinct advance in investigation and throws much light incidentally on many kindred matters. It is furnished with well constructed genealogical and regnal tables for the dynastic families of Dal Riada, Ailech, and Tyrone.

Professor Pokorny's book had the primary purpose of providing readers of German with a corrective of the travesties of Irish history, written from an antipathetic standpoint, that have been enabled during a long time past to pass current in continental countries. The original edition appeared in 1916. The author had the advantage, lacking to many writers on Irish history, of being able to read the Irish materials in the originals of every period. From the Anglo-Norman invasion onward, the book presents a strong indictment of the failure and injustice of the English régime in Ireland—a régime which, we may venture to think, few in future will be found to justify or defend. In the earlier period it is disconcerting to find well-ascertained facts and things of inference, often indeed of opinion, stated in terms implying equal certitude—and this not merely in a few instances. Professor Pokorny well understands that the history of a nation is not identical with the history of its governments; and he shows how in Ireland, at successive periods, the weaknesses of a native polity and the dangers of a hostile polity were overmatched by the forces of national culture and national civilization, until the people were led to lose faith in their chief power. In a foreword Mr. J. M. Hone provides an excellent account of the author's work in general and of the aim and scope of this History.

The Irish grammarians of the old tradition, when they said that the Irish language existed in three forms, must have had the law-tracts in mind. The three kinds of Irish were the Bérla Féne, the language dissected into vowels and consonants (and syllables), and the common language that serves everybody. It is of these that the law-tracts consist in every page, for example, in the facsimile edition of "The Oldest Fragments of Senchus Már" recently edited by Thurneysen for the Irish Manuscripts Commission. Bérla Féne was the language of the ancient landed freemen, always called Féni in the Laws, and in it the Laws were preserved and expounded orally until they began to be written about the middle of the seventh century. The vocabulary was already old-fashioned; for laws are necessarily conservative, and much of it soon became obsolete. Then "glosses" were added, written over the difficult words, just as a student pencils

the explanation of a word on the page of his Latin text. A word was explained by taking it to pieces—this was the Bérla Edarscartha ; and if the explanation was not always such as to please a modern philologist, it served the purpose of a whipping at the bounds, leaving a permanent impression on the memory. But there were also glosses giving their explanation in phrases of " the common language (of their time) that serves everybody " ; and there were later tracts and commentaries that expounded—and expanded—the original writings, using likewise the language that served the lawyers of the time, if it did not quite serve everybody. Some of the commentaries may have been composed as late as the sixteenth century.

All this material, full of technical words with meanings that changed in the course of a millennium, appears in the official translations in a very untechnical or, at times, wrongly technical English of the nineteenth century. And this English conglomerate is the basis of most of what has been written about Irish law since the translations were made, not excepting most of what was written by way of introduction or exposition by the official editors. Literally, for these and for others who used their " editions " a thousand years was as a day, and a day as a thousand years. What was written in the seventh century was thought to hold good for the sixteenth, and what was written in the sixteenth to hold good for the sixth, and the tentative English technicalities of the nineteenth century were authentic interpretations of what was written. The critical and discriminating study of the Irish law-tracts began in our time with Thurneysen, and most of his work has been done on texts that had not been published in the official series. Instead of recognising that the evidence was the evidence, most of those, including trained lawyers and experts in jurisprudence, who undertook to write treatises on Irish law and Irish institutions came to the task stuffed with a priori notions, which they mistook for proven facts. The outcome has been a maze of error and confusion.

The importance of the Irish laws for the history of human and especially of European institutions will be more and more recognised in every year that passes. What is wanted for their study is first of all a clean slate. Then the classification and segregation of the material according to subjects—the family and the relations between its members, the body politic and its constituent parts, property, contracts, judicial procedure, and so forth. Then under each head the classification of the material according to date, which requires philological study.

Throughout, by collected and collated instances, the most exact possible interpretation of the technical meanings and distinctions of the vocabulary, with an eye to possible changes of meaning or substitution of terms in successive periods.

For most of the material, all this remains to be done. Until it has been done, the chief value of such a work as Dr. Coghlan has undertaken must be to draw attention to the urgent need of doing it. That he appreciates the need, Dr. Coghlan does not conceal. Good teaching makes the learner interested in the subject and eager to acquire more knowledge and more precise knowledge, and to this degree Dr. Coghlan's book is good teaching. But he has allowed too many misprints to escape correction.

E. MACN.

GRIECHISCHE GESCHICHTE. Von Helmut Berve. 2 vols. (*Geschichte der Führenden Völker*, vols. 4 and 5). Freiburg im Breisgau : Herder. R.M. 9.50 each vol. 1931 and 1933.

ARATOS OF SICYON. By F. W. Walbank. Cambridge University Press. 1933. 8s. 6d. net.

PROFESSOR BERVE's two-volume History of Greece is a stately addition to Herder's great historical series, of which the first two volumes have already been reviewed in these pages. Brilliantly written and embodying a surprising wealth of detailed information in a narrative whose most striking feature is its philosophic sweep, it is likely to rank as a standard work in a subject now perhaps almost over-abundantly presented to the general reader. In scope and purpose, while it covers a far longer period, it bears most resemblance to Bury's palmary treatise. As compared with the latter it has the disadvantage, from the students' point of view, of including no maps, no notes, and very few illustrations, while its long uninterrupted chapters sometimes make difficult reading. It is superior in that its author's judgment is far more personal and less dependent on the classic authorities such as Meyer or Beloch, though his independence of view will not always bring conviction.

Dr. Berve sets out to write Greek History free from the preoccupations and analogies, both economic and political, that have dominated German scholarship in this field, and through it that of the world, for the past two generations. His object is to depict the Greeks, including their intellectual and artistic achievement, in their individuality, and to emphasise what was unique and organic in their development from the earliest times till the fall of the Ptolemaic dynasty. He takes account of the

latest discoveries, such as those of Cumont and Rostovtzeff at Dura-Europos, but interprets his facts in a manner largely his own. In much of his work, especially in the second volume, he is decidedly successful, and the historical significance of great events such as the Peloponnesian War or the Macedonian conquest has seldom been more clearly or convincingly set forth than in his pages. Very important especially is his refusal to attribute commercial policies to the states of early Greece; he treats them as essentially agrarian in character, which they undoubtedly were. Land-hunger, not commercial policy, was the great driving-force in early Greek history.

On the other hand, the value of a stimulating work is often considerably lessened by an exaggeration of this deliberate attempt to find everywhere something "organisch," "echt-Hellenisch," or more dangerous still "echt-Dorisch" and "echt-Ionisch." The reaction against interpretations of Greek life in modern terms is sound and necessary, and so is the effort to see the Greek world as a whole rather than from the angle of Sparta or Athens. Dr. Berve is too much inclined, however, to regard as specifically Greek many political institutions which have counterparts elsewhere. His effort to do justice to outlying parts of Greece lead him furthermore to an exaggeration of everything Doric and North-West Greek and to a serious depreciation of Ionia, especially in political matters. The modern linguistic categories of North-West Greek, Doric, and Ionic are dangerous moulds into which to pour the whole history of a very mixed civilisation. Curiously enough, Dr. Berve forgets to assign any particular importance to the Aeolic division, and one cannot but suspect that his idealisation of Doric and North-West Greek springs partly from modern German preoccupations with race. A strange result of this very marked one-sidedness is that Bronze Age Cretan civilisation, sharply distinguished by him from Mycenaean, is marked as "feminine," while he has to account for Athens, of all places, by describing it as half Doric. A great part of his first volume will arouse dissent on this score almost at every second page; but the peculiarity of his treatment, no less than his eloquence, combined with his mastery of detail, will probably only add to the value of his work as a whole.

Mr. Walbank's Thirlwall Prize Essay on Aratos of Sicyon is a very competent and readable little treatise, which, in spite of the immense background of the Cambridge Ancient History, has a definite quality in itself and will prove very useful to students. Considering the abundance of the sources and the great historical

interest of the period, it is surprising how little is generally known of the Greece contemporary with the Punic Wars of Rome. As far as striking personalities and stirring incidents are concerned, it is the equal of any period in history, and in spite of difficulties in style or unevenness of treatment there are few writers to surpass Polybius and Plutarch, from whom we learn most about it. Among the great characters of the time, and perhaps most interesting of them all because of his strange shifts of policy, was Aratos of Sicyon, who first created the Achaean League with the help of Egyptian gold in opposition to Macedon, and afterwards joined with Macedon against Cleomenes of Sparta, now aided in turn by Egypt. Mr. Walbank unravels the tangled threads of his long and adventurous life, and shows how in spite of his apparently complete somersault, which provoked the condemnation of Freeman, he was after all consistent enough according to his own lights. Apart from his careful attention to chronological detail and his very interesting accounts of many lively minor campaigns not unlike those of medieval condottieri, this explanation of Aratos is the most valuable thing in an original and entertaining work. M. T.

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE. Vol. VII. Part I—Australia. Part II—New Zealand. Editors : J. Holland Rose, A. P. Newton and E. A. Benians. Cambridge : University Press. 1933. 30s. and 15s. net.

These two volumes, which can be purchased separately, deal with an aspect of British Imperial history which is of special interest to Irishmen. It is all the more to be regretted that in both volumes—and most notably in the Australian volume—those subjects which are naturally most interesting to us are passed over in almost complete silence. If a guess may be permitted, the character of each of these two volumes seems to have been largely determined by the special advisers whose assistance has been invoked by the General Editors of the series. For Australia the Editors have had the assistance of Professor Ernest Scott, of the University of Melbourne. Those who wish to determine Professor Scott's historical outlook need only read the four chapters which he has himself contributed to the volume. The early history of European settlement is told by him in three chapters which ignore the very notable work of Irishmen and Catholic missionary priests in the development of the early colonies. Apart from a couple of brief references to the Irish political prisoners of '98, Professor Scott has nothing to say, for

example, of the work done by the very important Irish element in New South Wales ; and he has not even a hint as to the existence of the English Benedictine mission to that colony. Dr. Ullathorne alone is a figure of very real importance, who played a prominent part in the campaign against transportation. No mention is made of him in these chapters—or of Bishop Polding, or (in a later generation) of Cardinal Moran. But Professor Scott gives a very detailed account in a later chapter of the duel between Archbishop Mannix and Mr. William Martin Hughes on the issue of conscription. Those who have read this chapter will understand Professor Scott's attitude to many problems.

Apart from these omissions, the volume is full of accurate information, conscientiously set forth by a group of able writers. The problems of federal and state government, and the growth of imperial feeling in the Dominion, naturally predominate in a *History of the British Empire*. Two figures stand out as statesmen of unusual ability and foresight : William Charles Wentworth, the patriot politician of New South Wales, and George Higinbotham, the most eminent constitutional lawyer that the Dominion has yet produced. Both, it is worth noting (though the fact is not noted here), belong to the Irish Protestant class which has taken so active a part in the development of Australian political life. Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, whose name is so familiar to Irish readers, receives less attention in this volume than is his due. Yet he cannot rank with either Wentworth or Higinbotham as a force in Australian politics.

The volume on New Zealand is planned on much the same lines as the Australian volume ; but the character of the narrative is very different, and this is again apparently due to the choice of Dr. J. Hight, of Canterbury College, Christchurch, as special adviser. Dr. Hight is plainly interested in the early missionary history of the Dominion, and he has an interesting story to tell of the first contact between the Maori tribes and the Anglican and Wesleyan ministers. Indeed the volume is notable for the attention given to the religious factor as an element in New Zealand life ; but Dr. Hight has plainly little or no interest in the Catholic missions. Bishop Pampollier, the founder of the great Marist missions in Oceania, is a notable figure in the missionary history of the nineteenth century. To Dr. Hight he is no more than an intruder, who complicated the task of Samuel Marsden's successors ; and the later work of the Catholic missionaries, not only as priests but also as explorers, is passed over in a single sentence. None the less, the chapters by those who have been

chosen as contributors to this volume make more interesting reading than do the longer chapters in the companion volume. There is a romance about the Maori wars and the whole Maori way of life ; and the story of Captain Cook's voyages is always a tale that deserves to be read. P. D.

AUSTRALIA'S DEBT TO IRISH NATION-BUILDERS. By P. S. Cleary. With a Foreword by the Most Rev. Dr. Sheehan. Sydney : Angus and Robertson ; Dublin : Gill. 1933. 15s. net.

Mr. Cleary's biographical volume forms a useful supplement to the more scientific volumes of the *Cambridge History of the British Empire*. Mr. Cleary is writing biography, not history, and his purpose has plainly been to collect as many names and as much material as possible. Many of the so-called Irishmen in this list are Irish only by the accident of their birth, but very definitely English and imperialist in their sympathies. But Mr. Cleary has performed a useful task by gathering together all that concerns the work of Irishmen in Australia during the past century and a quarter. The contribution to Australian political history is especially noteworthy, and (counting Ulster imperialists as Irishmen) Mr. Cleary has succeeded in making the imposing total of twenty-three state premiers and no less than one hundred and thirty-seven cabinet ministers : truly a paradise for politicians who at home have (so far at least) only succeeded in creating two states and two parliaments to satisfy their political ambitions. P. D.

Literature Medieval and Modern

LITERATURE AND PULPIT IN MEDIEVAL ENGLAND. By G. R. Owst, M.A., D.Litt. Cambridge : University Press. 1933. 30s.

Seven years ago Dr. Owst gave us his *Preaching in Medieval England*, which he had planned as " an introduction to the sermon-manuscripts of the period c. 1350-1450." Those who have had occasion to use that most serviceable volume will not need to be reminded of the author's unusual competence in all that concerns the history of medieval preaching in England. Rarely does a single volume contain such an amount of new material, garnered from the many hundreds of Latin sermon-manuscripts which lie unpublished (and unread) in most of the libraries of England. At first sight, the subject of Dr. Owst's researches might seem as dryasdust as the most pedantic scholar might require for his

satisfaction. But Dr. Owst has been fighting a valiant battle—almost single-handed at first, but now with the support of an increasing number of scholars—on behalf of his long-forgotten medieval preachers. Readers of Chaucer will not need the reminder that the various types of preacher were familiar figures in the English medieval scene. In his first volume, Dr. Owst did little more than reconstruct the circumstances under which they preached, filling in his pictures with a surprising wealth of picturesque detail. In this second volume, he advances to the assault against many a well-established convention of English literary scholarship. These unpublished and long-forgotten sermons, so he argues, contain the solution to many a long-standing puzzle of literary criticism; and the literary critics have been singularly slow to understand the loss to their studies implied in this continuous neglect of so large a body of literary evidence.

That Dr. Owst's main thesis is substantially true can no longer be questioned. Modern scholars have been far too quick to assume that literature is confined to the conventional forms of prose and poetry which get their due recognition in our text-books. Recently Professor Chambers has urged a study of the medieval devotional literature as a witness to the continuity of English prose through centuries which receive scant courtesy from our accepted "authorities" on the history of English literature. Dr. Owst now adds the sermon-literature as a source of equal (if not greater) importance. Such later developments as medieval satire and medieval drama can only be understood in their correct perspective by those who are familiar with the astonishingly vivid and dramatic representations of social types as they had been set forth with all the arts of mimicry and gesture and declamatory skill by a long succession of popular preachers. Here, as in so much else, the Friars played a leading part; and the most famous of the English preachers, John de Bromyard, a Dominican Friar, is now clearly discernible as one of the major influences on the literature and thought of fourteenth-century England. But John de Bromyard is only one of many; and the value of Dr. Owst's method of research is precisely due to the fact that he has not limited himself to any single preacher, but has sought his "cloud of witnesses" wherever the evidence of their activity is to be found in our modern libraries. His former volume had cleared up many problems connected with the sources of all this sermon-literature and the main types to which it conforms. In this second, and more elaborate, volume he traces with astonishing erudition the influence of these sermon-writers on the development

of the vernacular literature in the England of Wyclif and Chaucer and Langland. The old tradition that these are the first names in the history of "modern" English literature has now been refuted, once and for all. For sermons of remarkable power and vigour were being preached in the vernacular all over England two or three generations before the age of Wyclif and Chaucer.

Perhaps the most interesting chapters in this volume are those in which Dr. Owst seeks the origin of dramatic and satiric forms in the conventional types of medieval preaching. But I should like to draw special attention to the very valuable study of *Piers Plowman* with which Dr. Owst ends his volume. Langland's poem has often been contrasted with Chaucer's genial epic and with the more ill-tempered diatribes of Wyclif against the ecclesiastical abuses of his day. Dr. Owst shows that the allegorical conception of the Plowman as the type of Christian manliness is derived from a Catholic tradition which is dominant in the sermon-literature of the period; and incidentally he has some very pertinent criticisms of the judgments passed by Dr. Coulton on the moral influence of Catholic teaching in the Middle Ages. Dr. Coulton has been far too quick to seize on anything that might support his thesis, that the Church did little or nothing to mitigate the social evils of the time and that her interest lay rather with the rich than with the poor. Dr. Owst redresses the balance in favour of his preachers; but he is none the less insistent on the greatness of his debt to the learning and encouragement of Dr. Coulton. It is all the more noteworthy that so distinguished a student from Dr. Coulton's school of historical criticism should have written a volume which bears emphatic testimony to the immense value of Catholic tradition and Catholic doctrinal teachings as a major influence in the moral, social and intellectual development of the English people during the two centuries that preceded the so-called Protestant Reformation. A. G.

A CHEERFUL ASCETIC AND OTHER ESSAYS. By James J. Daly, S.J. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1932. $1.75.

In his essay entitled *Charles Waterton, Naturalist*, Fr. Daly, who is Professor of English in the University of Detroit, writes: "The Catholic reading public has neither the numbers nor the influence to initiate popular literary estimates. If it tosses its cap in the air for a co-religionist, it is only after the cheers have been started elsewhere." He is thinking of the United States, of course; but his words apply also to Ireland, where we have the numbers,

and might have the influence if we stood more confidently upon our own judgment and resisted the tyranny of English publishers' "blurbs" and English critics' canons of taste. But, still the victims of an old inferiority complex, we lack the courage of our convictions and hesitate to acclaim a co-religionist until he has been appropriated by some English publisher and praised by English reviewers.

I propose, for once, to reverse the process in the case of Fr. Daly himself and fling up my hat in the air over his own book. Here is the work of a genuine literary craftsman, and we need not wait for anyone's permission to say so. It is a series of delightful *causeries* on various subjects—on a Spanish grandee, who imitated the renunciation of St. Aloysius and St. Francis Borgia without their solemn gravity; on Blessed Thomas More, who anticipated it in his own inimitable manner, blended of mirth and high austerity; on Charles Waterton, the Lancashire squire, who, in spite of an aggressive Papalism, conquered the prejudices of Georgian and Early Victorian England; on Father Frank Shaw, S.J., who secretly, one might almost say furtively, plied a poet's pen in sonnets to Our Lady meriting more recognition than they have yet received; on *Some Letters of Joyce Kilmer*, which are too little known in Ireland; on Sir Charles Day and Lord Charles Russell, whose careers are full of inspiration for Catholic laymen everywhere; on *The Intolerant Emerson*, who here receives a well-merited exposure; and finally on *The Paganism of Mr. Yeats*.

This last essay will probably prove most interesting to Irish readers. For Mr. Yeats is still with us, very much with us, and his personality deserves our closest attention. Fr. Daly had the privilege of hearing him lecture in America over twenty years ago, and succumbed to the fascination Mr. Yeats exercises on his hearers and readers alike. He pays full tribute to the poetical genius and the infectious enthusiasm of our distinguished fellow-countryman. But he does not allow his critical faculties to be lulled asleep. He finds the philosophy of Mr. Yeats less admirable than his poetry. Indeed he refuses to take seriously the gospel that Ireland should revert to pre-Christian paganism for its theory of ultimates; the proposition is too absurd. He accounts it strange and tragic, as it really is, that the time and genius of a great poet should be wasted in pleading for a creed outworn. I think that by this time it has been abandoned even by its advocate. Later utterances point rather to the pantheism of Spinoza and Hegel as the philosophic background

of Mr. Yeats's thought. This is not less erroneous than the cult of old gods who are a long time dead. But it is intellectually more respectable, because more recondite and admitting of a certain cloudy, imaginative but false and deceptive mysticism. He may yet escape from its toils. P. J. G.

LA PORTE OCEANE. Sur les Terres des Abbayes. Les Foyers spirituels de Rouen. By Edouard Herriot. Paris: Hachette. 1932. 10 francs.

This book opens as a hymn to that mighty force of nature, the sea; but it develops into a more impassioned hymn to the mind of man, which has triumphed over the sea. It is a very stimulating book to read in the light of one's travel memories, and would be an admirable companion on a journey to Normandy. We should explore with seeing eyes its varied coast. We should muse over its mighty port, Havre, that challenge thrown by Francis I to the great ocean and repeated ever since, so that it now stands as an open door admitting the wealth of the world and giving an outlet to adventurous activity. We should wander among its old ports, cathedrals, and abbeys of the familiar names: Caudebec, Honfleur, Caen, Bayeux, Bec, Jumièges, rich in artistic beauty and historic memories. Or we should linger in Rouen, where the author—with a wealth of information that makes him discursive—singles out three centres of influence which seem to him to have impressed their mark most strongly on the Norman mind.

He has a real power of evocation. We are awed by the might of the waters. We are charmed by the grace of some old-world spot, some landscape, some ruin. We are thrilled by the deeds of men: by the story of the old towns that saw the creation of the East India company, the first Newfoundland fishery, the colonisation of Canada; by the exploits of the Conqueror; by the artists in stone who thought out and built the churches; by the modern artists in iron and concrete who have perfected the great ports. We admire the steadfastness of Jeanne d'Arc before her judges, the wisdom of the old court of *l'Echiquier* (whence our *Exchequer*), the public spirit of the bishop Georges d' Amboise.

But—what does the author mean by *spirituel?* Just what we said at first: the mind of man triumphing over nature and material things, the character of his mind as shown in specific activities, the greatness of his mind as shown in courage and audacity. Havre, the abbeys, Rouen, are so many products of *la patiente volonté des hommes.* The spiritual quality of *mind*

the author makes us feel continually, by his own artistic sensibility to the picturesque and the beautiful, by his poetic sensibility to the rich memories of the past, by his ever alert intellectual curiosity. But, then, we must supplement and occasionally contradict him. Jeanne d'Arc—even without the *sainte*—is not mainly a sturdy peasant girl with *l'idée fixe d'une province tourmentée par les invasions ;* and she is certainly not a precursor, even unconsciously, of the Reformers when she appeals directly to God from her judges. And how poor a thing it would be if a monster liner like the *Ile-de-France* were what it suggests to him, *une cathédrale flottante, la cathédrale des temps nouveaux !*

When we have read, and admired, and learned from this book, we are at last reminded of a sentence recently written by Maritain in *le Songe de Descartes :* " Man can only be spiritualised by uniting himself with a living person, spiritual and eternal. There is only one spiritual life that does not disappoint, the life given by the Holy Ghost." M. R.

Political and Social Science

*PROBLEME DU COMMUNISME.** Par Nicholas Berdyaev. Paris : Desclée De Brouwer. 1933. Pp. 169.

THE END OF OUR TIME. By Nicholas Berdyaev. London : Sheed and Ward. 1933. 6s.

CHRISTIANITY AND CLASS WAR. By Nicholas Berdyaev. Sheed and Ward. 1933. 3s. 6d.

MOSCOW DIALOGUES. Discussions on Red Philosophy. By Julius F. Hecker. Chapman and Hall. 1933. 8s. 6d.

As a reason for their lack of interest in Soviet developments, many serious-minded people plead the contradictory character of the accounts and the impossibility of forming a definite opinion. This comes from the fact that we are prone to concentrate attention on material achievements rather than on the spiritual forces that are operating. Yet it may be doubted whether the success or failure of the Five Year Plan is what is of primary importance. The ideas and the aims of the Bolsheviks deserve more attention than they receive, as they would undermine the very foundations of Western and Christian civilization. And about the general character of these ideas and aims there is little room for doubt. With exclusive concentration on the political and economic aspects, the inner meaning of the Russian Revolution escapes.

* Two of the essays in this volume have appeared in *The Russian Revolution*, which is No. 6 of " Essays in Order " published by Sheed and Ward.

The fact that M. Berdyaev, if read with care, gives considerable help to understand the essence, the inner meaning of the Russian Revolution is one reason why we welcome his essays. This distinguished Russian thinker shows the place of the Revolution in the religious, moral, cultural and political development of both Russia and Europe. But he does more than this : he attempts an evaluation of the achievements of the history of the last four or five centuries. What we are given is a Philosophy of Modern History lit up by recent developments, especially in Russia ; for it is there that its culmination has been reached.

Seeing the dominant role played by religion in M. Berdyaev's thought as applied to all cultural and social problems, the reader would like something more definite on his actual beliefs than can be gathered from a careful study of these essays. That he is regarded by his co-religionists as a not too orthodox member of the Orthodox Church we are told in the introduction to *The Russian Revolution*, while in his dedication of *Christianity and Class War* it is stated that he was once a disciple of Marx. There are occasional turns of thought that are foreign to our Western minds and that recall some phases of peculiarly Russian speculation. Though his essays give abundant evidence that his thought is permeated by deep religious thought, the conclusions to which this conviction leads him are at times open to considerable doubt. For instance, the Church looms large in his " Rescue of Humanity " ; but I am not quite sure what he means by the " Church." Is it an existing organization or an idea ? It is well to bring forward these reservations, because M. Berdyaev is so rich in ideas that merit serious consideration, and because with many of these ideas the reader will find himself in full—at times in passionate —agreement. But whether he agrees or not, the reader will find plenty of stimulation in this brilliant and philosophic writer.

Though a firm believer in the indefectibility and power of the spirit, M. Berdyaev holds out little hope for the present dispensation ; it is doomed. The wave of devastation that has come upon this sinful world cannot be checked by any petty expedients in keeping with the spirit of the age. We are entering upon the unknown without joy or hope. How different it was at the beginning of this Modern Age ! The Renaissance boasted to have found man and the world that had been lost in the darkness and asceticism of the Middle Ages, and the splendid creativeness of its early years seemed to justify the boast. But unfortunately it contained within itself the seeds of its own destruction. The root cause of the débâcle is that man turned away from God to

himself and the world. Having cut loose from his true centre, man sought false centres and became superficial ; secondary values took the place of primary, and means were erected into absolute ends. A striking instance of this false and irrational inversion is the independent and absolute worth now attributed to economic values. Therein the Capitalist and Communist are at one. First the economic was freed from subjection to the moral and spiritual ; then it subordinated these, so that it has become the basis of life, and all else—religion, morals, art, culture, philosophy—are but its reflection.

The imposing creativeness of the opening stages of the Renaissance was possible, because Humanism was still in close connection with the Middle Ages and drank at its wells. The subsequent movements—Reformation, Enlightenment, French Revolution, Positivism, Socialism, Anarchism—are all part of the disintegration of Humanism, the disclosure of its inherent contradictions. Whatever is left of the spiritual in modern life is due to the fact that no break, no revolt can be complete ; but the further we get from the Middle Ages, the less effective for life is this spiritual survival.

Neither in Liberalism nor in Democracy could salvation be found ; they have been unclothed in all their nakedness by the process of history. For M. Berdyaev they rest on the hypothesis that truth is unknowable or perhaps non-existent. Purely formal principles, they are not interested in substance. What is essential for them is either that the people be free to express their will or that the will of the majority be made effective ; but it is a matter of indifference whether that will is determined to good or evil, to truth or falsehood. There is no subordination of the people's will to a higher end. Both Catholicism and Communism scorn this refusal to choose between God and the Devil—they make their choice, but not the same choice.

Nor have revolutions proved themselves a solution of the ills from which society suffers. They are essentially satanic. Every revolution is a calamity, a visitation on mankind for its sins. This idea of punishment for sin, applied to revolutions and to the whole débâcle in which modern history has culminated, is an illustration of the eschatological element in M. Berdyaev's thought. They are disasters that must be borne with dignity and a firm adherence to the truth ; but they cannot be guided—either by pre-revolutionary principles or by the " leaders " of the revolution. Counter-revolutions provide no remedy ; for the disease must wear itself out, producing from itself its own antitoxin.

Communism is at once the culmination of the Renaissance and the striking evidence that that age has come to an end. But though Communism rejects neutrality, scorns democracy, and places full weight on the necessity of prescribing the "proper" aim for the popular will, it is pre-eminently guilty of the great sin that has caused the catastrophe of modern civilization—the rejection of God and of the spiritual in man. It also erects into an absolute end what is only a means; for economic equality is no more an end of life than political equality; they are both secondary. Communism in its essence is false and terrible; man is dehumanised, made the function of a class, stripped of value as an individual; social collectivity takes the place of God.

Outworn ideas will not save the world. This can be done only by a restoration of the religious principle. The problem that confronts all peoples is essentially a religious one. The human will must be once more ordered towards right, that is, divine objects. Christianity has not failed, though Christians have betrayed Christianity, and the victory of Communism is a reminder of that betrayal. A false system, a false hierarchy of values like Communism, can be fought only under the banner of a true hierarchy. The Church must once again become the centre, as it was in the Middle Ages—though M. Berdyaev clearly holds that the theocracy of the Middle Ages failed in its task. Absolute values must be re-established; the Russian problem is above all a spiritual problem. M. Berdyaev calls for a New Middle Age; but he is decidedly pessimistic in his estimate of the enthusiasm with which humanity will respond to his call.

A more optimistic note pervades the little volume dealing with Christianity and Class War; the "Christian Socialism" of the writer is much more in evidence—though it is completely absent from none of his essays. It is not possible for Christianity to ignore facts because they are evil or unpleasant—that the Class War is a fact there can be no doubt. The spirit of hatred that has been infused into this struggle—on the side of the proletariat as on that of the bourgeoisie—is lamentable, and it is the duty of the Church to overcome this spirit. "The task before us now is to spiritualize and ennoble, not the bourgeoisie, whose moral importance is irretrievably lost, but the working class, whose social significance and power are daily increasing and will be of greater weight in the future." M. Berdyaev is convinced that the Church neither can nor ought to stand aside, but ought to recognise the substantial justice of the workers' claims. He demands that the Church should help in the achievement of far-reaching—and even revolutionary—changes in the organisation of human society.

Dr. Hecker's purpose in his *Moscow Dialogues* is to present Bolshevik philosophy to the ordinary educated reader; his business is, therefore, exposition rather than criticism. One wonders whether the choice of the dialogue form has been altogether happy. Certainly nothing less Socratic than Socratov, the Moscow philosopher, could well be imagined. The main purpose of the dialogue form seems to be to interrupt the exposition and perhaps to "show up" the typical representatives of "good class" Americans. Even the Reformist and the Professor (who is quite sympathetic to the Communist cause and ends up by being fully converted thereto) are but poor intellectual specimens.

In attempting to put before us the main phases of Leninist thought, the author has undertaken no easy task; but on the whole he has successfully accomplished it. I do not know of any book in English that fulfils the same purpose. If there still remain many obscurities, the fault lies not with Dr. Hecker, but with his subject matter. It is, however, a pity that he did not devote less space to pre-Marxian Russian speculation, which has often been dealt with, and give a fuller exposition of what is new. More, certainly, than is provided will be required to enable the reader to grasp the philosophic, as distinct from the dogmatic, strength of Soviet ideology. The obvious difficulties that it contains are not cleared up to any extent. Though Socratov is moderately polite to opposing views, there are times when he follows his master Lenin in thinking that polemics can well do duty for explanation.

Mere repetition of the claim that Lenin is a profound philosopher is no doubt good propaganda; but to some it will appear a poor substitute for philosophic explanation. In this as in other matters it is not fair to blame Dr. Hecker; he is faithfully reproducing Soviet mentality, as everyone knows who has read much of their literature. Examples of the Master's philosophic powers may be found in these pages. Take, for instance, his summary and naive treatment of a question which has engaged the attention of most philosophers—the freedom of the will. Or take his fundamental confusion between Materialism and a belief in the non-subjective character of reality.

To the ordinary man the controversies and the ultimate "definitions" may seem to prove the complete bankruptcy of Materialism—but not so to the Bolsheviks. Acceptance of Materialism is still *de fide*. But it must be dialectic not mechanistic materialism. Apart from the fact that Lenin was a dialectic materialist and condemned the crudeness of eighteenth century

materialism, there is the charge that in politics the adoption of the mechanist viewpoint leads to serious deviations to the right and the failure to advocate strong measures against the Kulaks. The difficulty, however, is that with the rejection of mechanism matter ceases to be matter—unless we are to get back to something like animism. Despite the decision of what the Humanist in the *Dialogues* calls the veritable Council of Nicaea in 1929, dialectic materialism justifies M. Berdyaev's description : " a philosophic monstrosity." The simple manner in which Hegelianism is converted by Marx and Engels into Materialism—v.g. on page 67 —would excite the envy of any conjurer.

But the victors over the mechanists did not long enjoy their victory. Stalin, as great a force philosophically as he is politically —I admit that it is bourgeois weakness to separate the two— saw the danger. Deborin and others were accused of allowing their attachment to dialectics to mislead them into idealism—and consequently into the political deviations of Menshevism and Trotskyism. J. M. O'S.

ECONOMIC EQUALITY IN THE CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH. By H. Stanley Jevons, M.A., B.Sc., F.S.S. London : Methuen. 1933. 10s. 6d. net.

Mr. Jevons was not quite justified in giving the above title to his book : it is definitely misleading. A considerable amount of righteous indignation will be aroused by it, we imagine, among the clients of Messrs. Methuen, who will find that they have bought, for half a guinea, a wolf masquerading as a lamb. Not that the wolf is not very good value for ten and six ; it is, and is, moreover, a comparatively tame and well-bred beast. But the expression " co-operative commonwealth " has a very clear and definite meaning in common parlance, and that meaning is not " communist commonwealth," and Mr. Jevons leaves his readers in no doubt that he ardently and (except for his title) frankly advocates Communism. The writer of the summary on the dust-cover felt the need to explain, and he managed, rather cleverly, to modulate from " co-operative commonwealth " to " co-operative socialism " and then to " modified communism " — till, when we open the book, we are straight into the key of " communism " without the " modified." In his Preface Mr. Jevons tries to justify or defend his choice of title ; but his defence is extremely weak, there is no real justification for it. It must, however, be made clear that Mr. Jevons, on his own confession, is " entirely and absolutely opposed to propaganda advocating

the class-war and the dictatorship of the proletariat as the only means of attaining communism. . . . The purpose of this book is just the opposite; to point a constitutional way of realizing the legitimate aspirations of the people for social, and hence economic, equality in a system of democratic communism." (p. xix).

The author believes, and endeavours to prove, that strict economic equality is the most, indeed the only, desirable object to strive for in the economic sphere of human society. Everybody in his Utopia is to receive at least £600 a year—"this level of income would almost certainly be exceeded after fifteen or twenty years of industrial reorganisation." (p. 102). Nobody is to be asked to make greater efforts or greater sacrifices than his fellow-citizens—"the solution seems to lie in the equalization of effort and sacrifice, rather than in varying the material reward in proportion to sacrifice, which is against a fundamental principle of communism." (p. 103). And how is this to be brought about? Here, like all social reformers, Mr. Jevons comes up against the problem *par excellence* of establishing a perfect human society—namely, the imperfect human beings who are to be the citizens of that society. Given perfect men and women, given no human selfishness or sin, no pride, no avarice, then how easy it would be to re-mould this sorry scheme of things nearer to all our hearts' desire. Plato, St. Thomas Aquinas and Mr. Jevons, with many another distinguished philosopher as well, would agree that, with no original sin, Paradise would be Paradise still—and possibly, even probably, a communistic Paradise.

Therefore, concludes Mr. Jevons quite rightly, we must begin by reforming men and women: a conclusion and a task already accepted, fully and with all its consequences, for a considerable number of centuries by the Catholic Church. "Communism being the regeneration of society presupposes the regeneration of man. . . ." It does, and a good deal more: it presupposes that the Fall has no longer any effect on man. "I must again emphasise the view that a new social order can only evolve out of the acceptance of new moral ideas." (p. 255). It would be truer to say that it can only evolve out of the acceptance of old moral ideas and the putting of them into practice. But this is not Mr. Jevons's view; he visualises a new dawn: "There will arise a direct, frank search after truth and simplicity of Christian doctrine, a determination to be rid of hypocrisy in the individual interpretation of religious truths, and finally a wave of thought freed from the intellectual domination of the ecclesiastical tradition, which upholds the sanctity of class privilege and property." (p. 256-7).

We have heard all this before, in a less cultured accent, with less deftness and delicacy of phrase, indeed, but still the same ideals, the same scape-goats, the same naivety and the same materialistic naturalism. We have no doubt of the sincerity of Mr. Jevons, or of Mr. Wells, for the matter of that, or Stalin, or any other of the well-intentioned reformers of society who grow more and more common every day. But we have equally no doubt of their abyssmal ignorance of human nature and the most fundamental facts and truths relating to it. Dr. Raven would need to dream and dream for several more decades before his dream-book would supply sufficient material to fill up the lacunae in Mr. Well's or Mr. Jevons's philosophy. Yet there are some useful things in the volume under consideration, and a great deal of study, observation, analysis, thought and ingenuity seem to have gone to its making. Its readers will find it stimulating, suggestive and interesting: "The consumption of meat can be greatly reduced, if not abolished. . . . If disgusting tasks like cleaning the sewers remain, they will be done by volunteers, who will receive due honour for their readiness to sacrifice themselves in the public service." (p. 103). We can almost forgive the deception in the title. E. J. C.

THE CATHOLIC SOCIAL MOVEMENT. By Henry Somerville, M.A. London: Burns Oates. 1933. 3s. 6d.

CATHOLIC SOCIAL DOCTRINE 1891-1931. By V. M. Crawford. Oxford: Catholic Social Guild. 1933. 1s. net.

THE CATHOLIC SOCIAL MOVEMENT IN GERMANY. By T. Brauer, Ph.D. Catholic Social Guild. 1932. 6d.

Mr. Somerville pleads that a "small book may claim to be judged by its contents and not its omissions." While not altogether admitting the soundness of that claim, we may, in this case, allow it to guide us. For certainly Mr. Somerville has given us a very remarkable book, if we regard it from the point of view of the actual positive content of its 160 pages. We feel bound to say, however, that there are some extraordinary omissions, perhaps almost as much has been omitted as has been said, and therefore the rather comprehensive title is hardly justified. It would not be fair to our readers not to point out that the book deals with *some* aspects of the Catholic Social Movement in *five* countries, and none of these countries receives anything like exhaustive treatment. That said, we may give unstinted praise to the skill with which the author has presented a long, complicated and extremely varied history in an orderly fashion and in a clear, firm style.

Mr. Somerville begins with Adam Müller and Baader: the temptation to do so is strong, but it should have been resisted. The *point de départ* is before the French Revolution, in the Papacy of Benedict XIV. A great deal of the misunderstanding and, indeed, sheer nonsense that has characterised certain writings on Catholic thought on social questions in recent years, would have been avoided had the early history of the Church and the Industrial Revolution been better known. The middle third of the eighteenth century is the place to look for the transition to the contemporary period, and providentially both St. Alphonsus and Benedict XIV., as well as several other distinguished theologians, were at hand at that time.

After Müller, we are brought on to Ozanam and Marx in France, and to Kettler and Lassalle in Germany. A chapter is then given to Catholic influence on the social legislation in Germany in the middle of the nineteenth century, when Bismarck and the Centre were the protagonists. This is followed by some account of such organisations as Kolping's Gesellenverein and the Volksverein. Mr. Somerville is decidedly pessimistic about the future of Catholic social activity under the Nazi régime. There may be a period of difficulty ahead, but the vitality of the Catholic spirit will remain under Hitler as under Bismarck and under more powerful men than even these. A short sketch, a little superficial we fear, is given of that home of Catholic social thought and action, Austria; but it is not easy to cover that country in twenty pages. Holland is, then, dealt with, and two chapters are devoted to the great Belgian movements, the Boerenbond and the Jocists. The book concludes with a chapter on France and one on Christian Trade Unionism.

Mr. Somerville's book is extremely interesting and is certainly the best short account of its kind to be found in English. We can cordially recommend it to all those who are anxious to make a beginning in the study of the social problems.

Although published several months before Mr. Somerville's book, the little booklet by Mrs. V. M. Crawford reads like a brilliant summary of its successor. Mr. Somerville was fortunate in having had so efficient a pioneer to blaze his trail for him. In many ways, indeed, Mrs. Crawford's is a more satisfactory account of the subject treated, as it is wider in its scope, though more restricted in the length of time covered. Both Italy and Switzerland figure here, two of the rather amazing omissions in the larger volume, and certain gaps in the treatment of Belgium are also filled up. But it is hard to decide between two such

excellent works; both should find a place in every Catholic library, above all in school libraries. It is unnecessary to say that Mrs. Crawford's book is most readable and quite easy to follow, despite the complexity of the matter she has to treat of.

We wish also to add a strong recommendation of the Catholic Social Year Book issued for 1932, but unfortunately not yet reviewed in our pages. Prof. T. Brauer is one of the foremost authorities on social and economic questions in Catholic Germany, and his book is a most useful introduction to the study of the social movement in that country. E. J. C.

Philosophy and Theology

PRAELECTIONES THEOLOGIAE NATURALIS. Cours de Théodicée. Par Pedro Descoqs, S.J. Tomus primus: De Dei Cognoscibilitate. Paris: Beauchesne. 1932. 100 frs.

As this volume of over 700 pages is to be followed by two more, the completed course of Theodicy of Père Descoqs will be immense. But let it said at once that, if the succeeding volumes are on a level with the first, the whole work will be a credit to Catholic scholarship and philosophy. Copiousness of matter and cogency of thought are not always found together; but they are the characteristics of this book.

With characteristic thoroughness Père Descoqs devotes 100 pages to the *Praesupposita* of the science—to a discussion of the scope and method of Theodicy. This involves a discussion of first principles, especially the principle of causality, which is capital in this science. As is well knowm, Père Descoqs accepts *in toto* the solution of the critical problem that Père G. Picard has put forward and which is being widely accepted. In this connection P. Descoqs has thought it well to examine another solution of this problem, which affects profoundly the whole argumentation for the existence of God. He gives about 60 pages to an *exposé* and criticism of Père Maréchal's theory of the function and implication of the act of judgment. While expressing admiration for the genius and acuteness of the author, he unhesitatingly rejects the theory on philosophical and theological grounds.

His arrangement of the arguments for the existence of God is distinctive. He begins with the argument from universal consent—the *argumentum liminare*—which he puts forward not as apodictic but as suasive and dispository. His thesis on this question is typical of his mind and method; it manifests his astonishing scholarship, his effort to get the full metaphysical

value of an argument, and his unmitigated critical exigency—his *crisis maxime severa et immisericors.* Then follow the valid arguments—from contingency, from motion, from efficient causality, from finality, and from moral obligation. All these are different forms or expressions of one argument—the insufficiency of the creature—and hence are forms of the argument from contingency. P. Descoqs does not give the fourth argument of St. Thomas, " quarta via—ex gradibus qui in rebus inveniuntur." He does not consider it cogent by itself, but rather complementary to and confirmatory of the valid arguments.

It is impossible in this brief notice to give an idea of the riches of this book. Many of the theses are veritable treatises—for instance, the argument from finality and the ontological argument. Many of these theses open out on kindred questions which P. Descoqs treats with a fulness of scholarship that is amazing. For instance, the section where he discusses the question, on which Catholic writers are pretty well divided, as to whether the mystical knowledge of God is mediate or immediate.

No doubt P. Descoqs' valuation and presentation of the arguments will not be accepted by all, even within " the School." Some may find his book hypercritical and diffuse. But on the whole his book is a notable achievement. The criticism that one often hears—that Catholic and Scholastic philosophy went along its narrow road without looking over the hedge, repeating its stock arguments, ignoring (because ignorant of) all that had been thought since Descartes—that criticism was never very well founded, and it becomes ludicrous in view of a book like this, which shows triumphantly the strength of the *philosophia perennis* on this capital question of the existence of God.

P. Descoqs' book is absolutely essential to all serious students of Theodicy. It establishes its author as one of the leading Catholic and Scholastic philosophers, as an independent, extremely critical thinker, who goes to St. Thomas directly and not through the schools of thought that derive from the *Doctor Communis.*

H. K.

COUNTER ATTACK FROM THE EAST. The Philosophy of Radhakrishnan. By C. E. M. Joad. London : Allen & Unwin. 1933. Pp. 269. 7s. 6d.

Mr. Joad gives us an interesting account of the personality of Radhakrishnan, who has been described as a philosophical bilinguist, particularly fitted to act as *liaison* officer between East and West. Mr. Joad draws a gloomy picture of present Western

civilization, and regards Radhakrishnan's philosophy as supplying a reason and a remedy for the soullessness, purposelessness, and sense of dissatisfaction, which characterise modern life. He gives, accordingly, an exposition of the Indian philosopher's system, bringing out his vindication of religion and his solutions of the fundamental problems of Metaphysics and Ethics.

Whereas Radhakrishnan's outlook is deeply religious, Mr. Joad is an avowed agnostic. The fact that each regards himself as only superficially differing from the other implies that in both the notion of religion is interpreted in a very attenuated sense. Mr. Joad's discussions of doctrines and systems are markedly temperamental; and he is too prone to interpret the "Modern Westerner's" mind after the model of his own. In his indictment of modern life he is, perhaps, unduly severe regarding athletic and holiday pastimes; but his suggestion that the modern world is sorely in need of the reflective meditation and of re-education in the estimation of values and the use of leisure is very sound.

J. SHINE

INDIAN PHILOSOPHY. By S. Radhakrishnan. Vol. I. London: Allen & Unwin. Pp. 684. 21*s.* net.

OUTLINES OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY. By M. Hiriyanna, M.A. London: Allen & Unwin. 1932. Pp. 419. 16*s.* net.

A MANUAL OF BUDDHISM. By Mrs. Rhys Davids, D.Litt. London: The Sheldon Press. 1932. Pp. 342. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

QUELQUES SOMMETS DE LA PENSEE INDIENNE. Par R. Follet, S.J. (Archives de Philosphie. Vol. IX). Paris: Beauchesne. 1932. Pp.195. 36 fr.

AN IDEALIST VIEW OF LIFE. By S. Radhakrishnan. (Hibbert Lectures for 1929). London: Allen & Unwin. 1932. Pp.351. 12*s.* 6*d.* net.

PROF. RADHAKRISHNAN'S *Indian Philosophy* is the first comprehensive history of Indian thought and is the classic work on the subject. Hitherto, he says, particular parts of Indian philosophy have been studied with great thoroughness by scholars in India, Europe and America; but there has been no attempt to deal with the history of Indian thought as an undivided whole or a continuous development. Voluminous as the work is, it professes to be no more than a general survey. This first volume deals with the Vedic period and the Epic period, including the schools of Buddhism. The author is an enthusiastic admirer of Indian philosophy, and is at the same time thoroughly versed in modern systems. He rates Indian philosophy as high as anything in Western thought.

The compact volume of Prof. Hiriyanna covers the whole history of Indian thought, selecting the most central features. It is especially useful for its detailed accounts of the theory of knowledge and of ontology in the different systems.

Mrs. Rhys Davids' Manual of Buddhism is a successor to the earlier Manual written by her husband, and treats the subject less historically than the latter : her main interest is in " The Man himself, his message and ideas," rather than in the superstructures built up later. It is a very detailed and learned work.

Père Follet's work is not intended as a contribution to historical scholarship ; but, taking the latest results of historical investigation as given, it makes a searching internal analysis of the different systems as attempts to solve the fundamental problems of Indian thought. Père Follet is very helpful first in giving clear definitions of such terms as ' reason,' ' real,' ' absolute ' as used in Indian systems ; and in stating clearly the fundamental metaphysical problem, the problem of ' reality.' In a masterly way, he shows how the successive schools grappled with the difficulties of the problem, each new school building a new theory on the ruins of its predecessor only to meet with a similar fate itself.

The two sets of systems, Buddhist and Vedantic, the former immanental, the latter transcendental, are attempting to solve the same problem, the search for the fundamental reality, the self-sufficing ground. Sharply opposed as both are, they have much in common, and both have the specific impress of the Indian mind. Particularly interesting is the study of the Vedantic systems. Here in the development of the problem of the Absolute and the Relative, in the systems of Samkara, Ramanuja, Nimbarka, and Madhva, we get a close approach to the discussions of Western Scholasticism. The author is fully appreciative of the nobility and earnestness of view, the metaphysical acumen, the dialectical subtlety, of these philosophers, and points out that study of this wealth of philosophical speculation would be rewarded with much that is useful. The great attractiveness of the two main lines of thought in Indian philosophy arose from the fact that both expressed deep tendencies of human nature. Developing these, however, without due perspective and compass, they were fraught with danger. They failed to solve the philosophic problem and took refuge in an unmeasured mysticism.

Prof. Radhakrishnan's Hibbert Lectures give a finished survey of the philosophical field at the present time. All the most modern forms of the mechanical theory are sharply scrutinized. His own solution is a kind of fusion of Eastern

mysticism with Platonist Idealism. Characteristically, he interprets each of these in terms of the other. His central concept is that of "intuition." "Intuitive insight is a whole-view when the mind in its totality strains forward to know the truth." The grasp of ultimate reality through intuitive insight is what the Ontological argument really implies. Regarding the nature of God, his position is unsatisfactory. God is, on the one hand, transcendent, "essentially other," but on the other hand, He is immanent, organic with the world. Thus, he does not escape the see-saw of the system of Samkara, which he so much admires.

J. Shine

DIE GESCHICHTE DER KATHOLISCHEN THEOLOGIE seit dem Ausgang der Väterzeit. Von Dr. Martin Grabmann. Freiburg: Herder. 1933. 368 pp. 10.60 M.

This book owes its origin to a suggestion of Cardinal Ehrle (to whom it is dedicated), that the forty-five pages in which M. J. Scheeben, in his *Handbuch der katholischen Dogmatik* (Freiburg, 1879), gives an outline history of Catholic Theology, should be taken from their context and republished as a separate brochure. The task was entrusted to the capable hands of Dr. Grabmann, a specialist in the Scholastics and Mystics of the Middle Ages. He soon saw that a mere re-editing of Scheeben's pages would be hopelessly inadequate, and rightly chose to give us instead this very scholarly and highly valuable volume containing 281 pages of text and 107 pages of notes and appendices. Even thus enlarged, he calls it a *Grundriss*, or ground plan, of the subject. In the space it could not be more; but it is a plan giving the contours of the vast terrain in good relief and with accuracy. It really does what he claims for it—namely, it affords us an *Uberblick*—we have no precisely equivalent English word—over the development of Theology from the time of the Fathers onward till our own times (excluding living representatives). It traces the rise of the various schools and their vicissitudes, mentions the leading names and outlines their characteristics, enumerates their important works and explains their part in the evolution of Theology.

From Dr. Grabmann, as a German, we naturally expect thoroughness, and we get it. But German scholarship, though normally conscientious and profound, often lacks proportion, order, clarity. It is refreshing in the present case to find all these qualities included. This volume is well ordered, well proportioned, well written, and con-

sequently it is as easy reading as the somewhat severe nature of the subject matter permits. Obviously it is intended primarily for professors and students of Theology, and for them chiefly as a book of reference and a guide in their researches. Yet it will repay a complete and careful preliminary reading; and only then will it yield its full effect. After that it will remain upon the desk, almost like a Denziger or a Concordance, to be taken up when a new name in our theological reading meets the eye and we wish to place it. We shall have little difficulty; for an excellent Appendix gives us instant access to its position in the long story.

Beyond question this is a book which all interested in Theology and conversant with German should possess, a book which does credit not only to its author but also to its publishers—admirable in its format, printing and binding. P. J. GANNON

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BARDY, G. Le Rédempteur. (Bloud & Gay, 15 fr.).
BARTON, SIR DUNBAR. Timothy Healy. Memories. (Talbot Press, 3/6).
BASKFIELD, GERALD. Idea of God in British and American Personal Idealism. (Catholic University of America, pp. 137).
BIARD, J. L'Abbé Joseph Viallet. (Aubanel Aîné, 18 fr.).
BLUNDELL, MARGARET. Cavalier. Letters of William Blundell, 1620-1698). (Longmans, 10/6).
BOASE, T. S. R. Boniface the Eighth, 1294-1303. (Constable, 15/-).
BOYER, CAROLUS. De Deo Creante et Elevante. (Universitas Gregor., pp. 545).
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BRUNNER, AUGUST. Die Grundfragen der Philosophie. (Herder, 3.50 M; 4.80 M).
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CLARK, A. C. Prose Selections from German Literature. (Allen & Unwin, 2/6).
French Word Formation. (Allen & Unwin, 9d.).
CLAUDEL, PAUL. Ways and Crossways. (Sheed & Ward, 7/6).
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Landrivon, P. La Sainte Vierge. Essai de théologie mariale. (Aubanel, 19 fr.).
Lattey, Cuthbert. Westminster Version. Vol. II, Part II. Acts of the Apostles. (Longmans, 5/6, 6/6).
Le Buffe, Francis. Creed—Confiteor. (America Press, 30 cents).
Lercher. Ludovicus. Institutiones Dogmaticae. Vol. I: De Vera Religione, De Ecclesia, De Traditione. (Rauch, 8 M).
Lusseau-Collomb. Manuel d'Etudes bibliques. Tome II: Livres historiques de L'A. T. (Téqui, 60 fr.).
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Murray, M. J. Catholic Home Annual for 1934. (Herder, 1/–).
Noaillet-Ponvert, S. de. Marthe de Noaillet, 1865-1926. (Desclée De B., 15 fr.).
Nock, A. D. Conversion. The Old and the New in Religion from Alexander the Great to Augustine of Hippo. (Clarendon Press, 15/–).
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Prat, Ferdinand. Jésus-Christ. 2 vols. (Beauchesne, 80 fr.).
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Viller, Marcel. Dictionnaire de Spiritualité. Fascicule II. (Beauchesne, 20 fr.).
Vincent, Jacqueline. Rosie Grande Soeur. Roman. (Desclée De B., 9 fr.).
Yeo, Margaret. St. Francis Xavier. Cheap Edition. (Sheed & Ward, 3/6).
Zimmermann, Otto. Grundriss der Aszetik. Bearbeitet von Carl Haggeney, S.J. (Herder, 5 M; 6.40 M).

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I am
Yours truly
J. STEPHEN NARAYAN
Secretary, Catholic Press Committee

St. Joseph's College
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Ceylon, 3*rd June* 1933

THE BISHOP'S LETTER

Bishop's House
Batticaloa
21*st April* 1932

Dear Mr. Narayan

Not only have I no objection to your scheme for spreading Catholic literature and papers, but I warmly approve of it. I bless it and I recommend it to all those who have at heart the interest of the Church.

Yours very devotedly in J. C.
(Signed) ✠ GASTON, S. J.
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THE CATHOLIC PRESS AND THE MISSIONS

Week by week and month by month, our Catholic newspapers and periodicals produce in an aggregate a vast amount of useful apologetic and expository material, clearing away false views of the Church and explaining her doctrines, sometimes of set purpose in sermons or tractates, sometimes incidentally, since everything is written from the standpoint of the Faith and all criticism supposes the fixed Catholic standards of belief and practice. Much of this helpful matter, having done its immediate work, is lost or remains sterile, whereas its capacity for continuing its apostolate on the Foreign Missions is almost unlimited. Recent information from India, for instance, indicates that incalculable good is being done in that vast continent by the distribution of Catholic literature—good that could easily be multiplied a hundredfold at the cost of a few stamps. At St. Mary's College, Kurseong, for instance, a large Jesuit theologate near Darjeeling, a " Catholic Press Service " for the free distribution of Catholic literature all over India—to non-Catholic universities, colleges, public libraries and newspaper editors—has been carried on for a year or so with excellent results. Although the Catholic Church in India has by far the largest number of adherents, most educated Indians get their ideas about Catholicism from the writings of Protestants. The need of a vigorous counter-propaganda is, therefore, obvious, and the material for this can be provided by the Catholic press in these islands, at first or second-hand. So far, over 1,500 pieces of Catholic literature are distributed each month, and thus placed at the disposal of eager Indian students or quoted by Indian editors. For obvious reasons, millions, even of the educated natives, have hitherto identified Christianity with Protestantism, and thus have not felt the full appeal of the Faith. One remedy for this misfortune clearly is to furnish the Catholic Press Service with greater abundance of material *and* with occasional contributions to defray postal charges.

Extract from the MONTH, Sept. 1933

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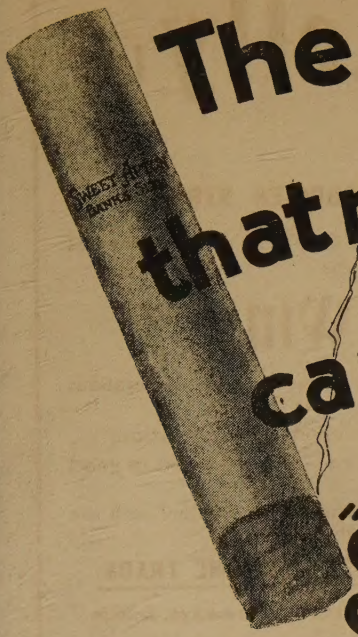

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